



SCHOOL of
GRADUATE STUDIES
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY

East Tennessee State University
**Digital Commons @ East
Tennessee State University**

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Student Works

5-2011

A Community of Modern Nations: The Mexican Herald at the Height of the Porfiriato 1895-1910.

Joshua Salyers

East Tennessee State University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://dc.etsu.edu/etd>



Part of the [Journalism Studies Commons](#), and the [Latin American History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Salyers, Joshua, "A Community of Modern Nations: The Mexican Herald at the Height of the Porfiriato 1895-1910." (2011). *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. Paper 1291. <https://dc.etsu.edu/etd/1291>

This Thesis - Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Works at Digital Commons @ East Tennessee State University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ East Tennessee State University. For more information, please contact digilib@etsu.edu.

A Community of Modern Nations: The *Mexican Herald* at the Height of the Porfiriato,
1895-1910

A thesis
presented to
the faculty of the Department of History
East Tennessee State University

In partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Master in History

by
Joshua Salyers
May 2011

Dr. Daniel Newcomer, Chair

Dr. Melvin Page

Dr. Brian Maxson

Mexican Herald, Porfiriato, American Colony, Mexico, modernization, newspapers.

ABSTRACT

A Community of Modern Nations: The *Mexican Herald* at the Height of the Porfiriato, 1895-1910.

by

Joshua Salyers

The *Mexican Herald*, an English language newspaper in Mexico City during the authoritative rule of Porfirio Díaz (1895-1910), sought to introduce a vision of Mexico's development that would influence how Mexicans conceived of their country's political and cultural place within a community that transcended national boundaries. As Mexicans experienced rapid modernization led partially by foreign investors, the *Herald* represented the imaginings of its editors and their efforts to influence how Mexicans conceptualized their national identity and place in the world. The newspaper's editors idealized a Mexico that would follow the international model of the United States and embrace Pan-Americanism. The *Herald's* depictions of the ideal, future city provided an intelligible landscape to modernity. The editors' vision of modernity had significant implications for Mexican culture. The newspaper's articles and illustrations defined the parameters of modernity providing clear depictions of the physical, political, and cultural aspects of the community of modern nations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a pleasure to thank those who have made this thesis possible. I owe my deepest gratitude to my advisor Dr. Daniel Newcomer who has supported me throughout my thesis with his patience and knowledge. He has made available his support in countless ways, and this thesis would not have been possible without his help and instruction. I would also like to extend a very special thanks to my committee members Dr. Brian Maxson and Dr. Melvin Page whose guidance throughout the M.A. program has been invaluable.

I would like to show my gratitude to Dr. William Beezley, Dr. Bill French, and Dr. Monica Rankin for the opportunity to work with them at the Oaxaca Summer Institute. This experience significantly contributed not only to this thesis but also my development as a historian, and I sincerely appreciate their contributions. I greatly benefitted from the many scholars at the Summer Institute who presented their work and offered suggestions for my thesis. All of the students who attended the institute have offered greatly appreciated advice on the early drafts of my work. I would also like to thank Lucero Topete, the director of the Oaxaca Cultural Institute, for placing me in a productive language program.

A special thanks goes to the Inter Library Loan Staff at the Charles C. Sherrod Library; their assistance and patience with my numerous requests aided my research. Without the department's continual support, this thesis would not have been possible.

My work is indebted to the financial assistance of the Crawford-Williams Fund Committee, the History Department, the Honors College, and the Quillen Scholarship Committee.

Finally, a very special thanks goes to the faculty of the Department of History at East Tennessee State University, especially Dr. Steven Nash, Dr. Emmett Essin, and Dr. Dale Schmitt.

CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT.....	2
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	3
LIST OF FIGURES.....	6
Chapter	
1. THE <i>MEXICAN</i> HERALD IN THE AGE OF PORFIRIO DÍAZ.....	7
2. INTERPRETATIONS OF THE <i>MEXICAN HERALD</i>	12
3. A GREATER MEXICO: PAN-AMERICANISM AND THE REJECTION OF EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM.....	17
4. “A CITY IN THE AIR:” IMAGINING THE MODERN URBAN LANDSCAPE.....	33
5. A VISUAL REGIME: MEXICAN HISOTRY, CULTURE, AND MODERNITY.....	47
6. EPILOGUE: REVOLUTION AND THE MODEL OF MODERNITY.....	60
7. CONCLUSION: THE COMMUNITY OF MODERN NATIONS.....	63
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	65
VITA.....	69

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. “Wars, Rebellions, and Bloodshed”	7
2. “Meeting of the Peace Commissioners at Paris”	24
3. “The American Fleet”	25
4. “A City in the Air”	33
5. “New York Fashions”	52

CHAPTER 1

THE *MEXICAN HERALD* IN THE AGE OF PORFIRIO DÍAZ

“Peace on earth: good will to men, can be chanted by only two nations under the sun. The United States and Mexico are not involved in warfare of any description, but they are the only nations, civilized or uncivilized, that can say so.”¹ This commentary, coupled with the image (see figure 1) on the front page of the January 3, 1897 issue of the *Mexican Herald*, an English language newspaper in Mexico City from 1895 to 1915, illustrated a common theme in its pages: Mexico’s future lie within a community of modern nations.

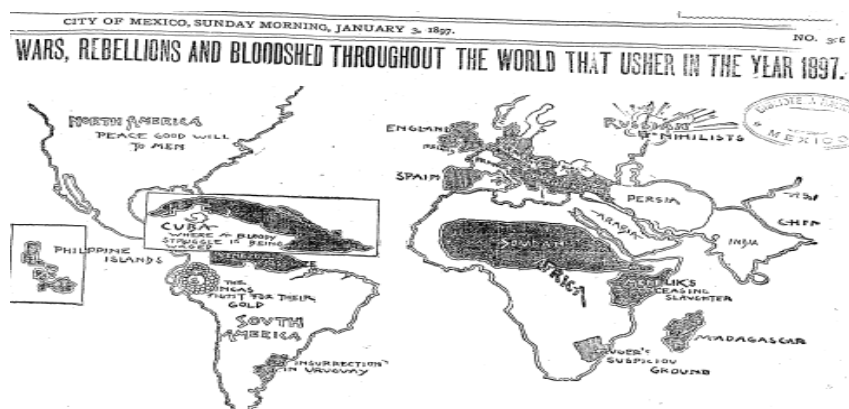


Fig. 1 Wars, Rebellions, and Bloodshed.

Source: “Wars, Rebellions, and Bloodshed,” *Mexican Herald*, January 3, 1897, 1, <http://www.paperofrecord.com>.

This illustration distinguished the North American continent, depicted without national borders, from the rest of an apparently war-torn world. While the article emphasized the peace of North American nations as the defining characteristic that distanced Mexico and the United States from other nations of the world, the illustration

¹ “Wars, Rebellions, and Bloodshed,” *Mexican Herald*, January 3, 1897, 1.

itself presented an image of Mexico's place within a modern international community. This thesis argues that the editors of the *Mexican Herald* sought to introduce a vision of Mexico's development that would influence how Mexicans conceived of their country's political and cultural place within a community that transcended national boundaries. The community of modern nations, or what the *Herald* often described simply as a "community of nations," represented its editors' visions for Mexican development.²

The *Herald* operated during the three-decade authoritative rule of Porfirio Díaz (1876-1911), which marked a period of relative stability in Mexico's post-colonial history. The Díaz regime promoted economic modernization by attracting foreign investors, especially from the United States. Since Díaz's modernization programs prized foreign capital as a key to national development, Americans became an influential group among the business community.³ In fact, the group of American expatriates eventually grew so large that its members comprised what the *Herald* referred to as the "American colony."⁴ Díaz's regime rationalized its development strategy by citing the then current philosophy of Positivism derived from the ideas of Auguste Comte.⁵ Mexican versions of

² "The Anglo-Saxon Stock," *Mexican Herald*, November 14, 1899, 3.

³ For a discussion of Porfirio Díaz's modernization programs for Mexico, see Robert M. Buffington and William French, "The Culture of Modernity," in *The Oxford History of Mexico*, ed. Michael C. Meyer and William H. Beezley (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Friedrich Katz, "The Liberal Republic and The Porfiriato, 1867-1910," in *Mexico since Independence*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); For studies of Díaz's attempts to portray an orderly and secure Mexico through the use of *Rurales*, see Paul Vanderwood, *Disorder and Progress: Bandits, Police, and Mexican Development*, Rev. ed. (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1992); For an analysis of the relationship between popular culture and modernity during the Porfiriato, see William H. Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club: And Other Episodes of Porfirian Mexico*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2004).

⁴ "American Colony Notes," *Mexican Herald*, October 8, 1895, 5.

⁵ The early standard study of Mexican positivism appears in Leopoldo Zea, *Positivism in Mexico*, trans. Josephine H. Schulte (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1974), 61-65. Zea argued that positivism appealed to Mexican elites because it provided a rationale for pursuing their interests. He explained that in Mexico, positivism had different educational and political aspects; For a better

Comte's theories outlined a program from which the nation could transform into a modern state under Díaz's rule. The Científicos (scientifics, or positivists) believed that foreign-led economic progress would revive the Mexican economy enough to bring the country into the contemporary international capitalist community. Once the regime installed the proper conditions, the veritable forces of modernity would ensure Mexico's continued progression.⁶

Investors from the United States and Europe flooded Mexico with capital during the era, and textiles, mining, the railroads, and many other industries consequently expanded rapidly. As foreign interests in Mexico increased during the Porfiriato and the number of American expatriates grew, the need for a newspaper that would ostensibly act as the voice of the American colony in Mexico City arose. Despite the presence of the *Two Republics* in the early 1890s, the *Mexican Herald* emerged as the dominant English language newspaper in Mexico City from 1895 to 1915. The paper's owner, Paul Hudson, maintained a favorable relationship with Porfirio Díaz throughout the era and the *Herald*, in many ways, became the voice for the American colony and an intermediary between the Díaz regime and the United States government.⁷ Hudson's editorial staff spent two decades articulating their vision for Mexican development and thereby outlined their imagined community of nations.

understanding of the relationship between positivism and liberalism in Mexico, see Charles A. Hale, *The Transformation of Liberalism in Late 19th Century Mexico* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 203-210.

⁶ Buffington and French, "The Culture of Modernity," 398-399.

⁷ William Schell Jr., *Integral Outsiders: The American Colony in Mexico City, 1876-1911* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Inc, 2001), 14.

My concept of a community of modern nations builds on Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*.⁸ Reminiscent of how Anderson's print capitalism spread nationalism among individuals in disparate geographic regions, the *Herald*'s editors attempted to shape readers who could imagine themselves as part of an international community. Americans and Mexicans who encountered the *Herald* were consistently presented with illustrations and columns representing numerous visions for Mexico's future. My analysis of the *Herald* examines the role of print media in helping shape Mexicans' sense of national identity and specifically the role of the foreign language press in shaping a place for Mexico in an idealized, imagined international community. My thesis seeks to understand how one newspaper depicted the modern Mexican state and the implications that vision had for Mexican culture, identity, and politics during the Porfiriato.

My approach also builds on William H. Beezley's observation that "understanding the surge of nationalism requires knowing what writers wrote that was read."⁹ I examine how the *Herald*'s editors gave meaning to modernity in the pages of the newspaper and the implications their visions had for a Mexican identity predicated on shared notions of modernity. This thesis outlines the parameters of the *Herald*'s idealized modern community and, in so doing, explores how the *Herald*'s editors positioned Mexican culture within its broader developmentalist ideal. The *Herald* sketched the physical, economic, cultural, and political make up of modern nationalism, a status

⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 7.

⁹ William H. Beezley, *Mexican National Identity: Memory, Innuendo, and Popular Culture* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2008), ix-x.

which, as William French and Robert Buffington explained, Porfirian-era Mexicans strongly desired: “To a still-fragmented nation-state about to cross the threshold, the often ambivalent and always ambiguous notions that comprised modernity exuded an irresistible, seductive power.”¹⁰ As Steven Bunker observed, print media helped give “shape and form to the abstract condition of modernity in which Porfirian Mexicans lived.”¹¹ In fact, the *Herald* used the power of the newspaper as a visual medium to provide a distinct conception of modernity in Porfirian Mexico.

¹⁰ Buffington and French, “The Culture of Modernity,” 398.

¹¹ Steven B. Bunker, “Creating a Mexican Consumer Culture in the Age of Porfirio Díaz, 1876-1911” (PhD diss., Texas Christian University, 2006), 1-3.

CHAPTER 2

INTERPRETING THE *MEXICAN HERALD*

Paul Hudson was initially unconcerned with spreading his modernist vision among Mexico's popular classes. He originally targeted only those Mexican elites and officials who read English, to the extent that the English language itself eventually became associated with the *Herald's* program for Mexican modernity. By 1910, Hudson nevertheless found it necessary to broaden his audience and began publishing his newspaper in Spanish. Boasting that up until that point one third of the newspaper's readership was Mexican, he argued for the need to bring a reliable news source to Mexicans. By printing a Spanish-language edition Hudson apparently wanted to disseminate his vision of Mexico's progress among Mexicans who could only read that language.¹² A wider Mexican audience allowed the *Herald* to influence how many among the Mexican population conceived of their country's place in an international community.

Interpretations of the *Herald's* role in Porfirian Mexico often portray the newspaper as having a one-sided relationship with the Mexican population. For example, Jerry Knudson argued that the *Herald* functioned as little more than the mouthpiece of American business investment.¹³ Knudson suggested that English language periodicals anticipated the multinational corporations of today and acted as "outposts" for ideas that paved the way for American and British companies to establish economic empires in

¹² "Editorial," *The Mexican Herald*, March 5, 1910, 4.

¹³ Jerry Knudson, "The Mexican Herald: Outpost of Empire, 1895-1915," *International Communication Gazette* 63 (October 2001): 387.

foreign countries. Knudson concluded that the paper did not survive the 1910 revolution because “other than English, it spoke only the language of the counting-house.”¹⁴

Knudson’s interpretation of the *Herald* as the “sounding board for American investment” certainly had some validity, but the author probably overstated the case for imperialism.¹⁵ His approach overlooked the complexities of the *Herald*’s role in Mexico as the editors positioned themselves, American investors and, by extension, Mexico itself within an international “modern” community. His approach effectively neglected the ideas present among the disparate individuals affiliated with the *Herald*. My analysis of the *Herald*, which works from a cultural perspective, views Hudson, Frederick Guernsey, and the rest of the paper’s editors and writers as complex individuals, imbued with ideological and racial assumptions that informed their program for Mexican development rather than as a collective voice consistently expressed uniformly through the *Herald*’s pages.¹⁶

While Knudson’s article represents the only work solely dedicated to analyzing the *Herald*, other interpretations of the paper attempted a more nuanced explanation of the complex relationship among Díaz, the *Herald*, and American investors.¹⁷ William Schell’s important work analyzing the American colony in Mexico during the Porfiriato

¹⁴ Knudson, 396.

¹⁵ Knudson, 387.

¹⁶ Frederick Guernsey started the *Mexican Herald* in 1895 but Paul Hudson quickly bought the newspaper. Guernsey stayed on as the Chief editor throughout the newspaper’s entire run; For a racist treatment of Mexican national identity and collective consciousness, see Wallace Thompson, *The Mexican Mind: A Study of National Psychology* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, and Company, 1922), 3-20, 133-149.

¹⁷ Kathryn Norton’s M.A. thesis from Tulane University attempted to answer the question of whether the periodical constituted genuine news or propaganda. She argued that Hudson’s support of Díaz’s policies was a necessity to promote business investment. Kathryn Norton, “The Mexican Herald, 1906 to 1908: Genuine News or Propaganda?” (master’s thesis, Tulane University, 1979), 8.

represents a more balanced portrayal of the *Herald's* role there. In *Integral Outsiders: The American Colony in Mexico, 1876-1911*, Schell examined the intricacies of Hudson's and the editors' relationships with Díaz, the U.S. government, and American investors and argued that the *Herald* was also an important platform for Díaz's propaganda.¹⁸ According to Schell, in order for Hudson to promote and protect American business interests in Mexico, his paper could not simply function as a mouthpiece for American economic interests. It also had to function as a depository for Porfirian ideas. Although Schell presented the most complete analysis of the *Mexican Herald* to date, he did not address any of Hudson's and the *Herald's* editors' specific vision for a community of modern nations. That vision represents the focus of the current study.

The following chapters explore the *Herald's* complex role in shaping Mexican modernity. Chapter three examines how the *Mexican Herald's* editors idealized a Mexico that followed the international model of the United States and embraced Pan-Americanism. Shortly after independence from Spain in the 1820s, Latin American nations began courting the notion of a diplomatic and economic cooperative, which later became known as Pan-Americanism.¹⁹ U.S. officials in the 19th century such as Thomas Jefferson and Henry Clay outlined a markedly different interpretation of Pan-Americanism based on the principles set forth in the 1823 Monroe Doctrine.²⁰ During the

¹⁸ Schell, *Integral Outsiders*, 138-141.

¹⁹ Joseph Byrne Lockey, *Pan-Americanism: Its Beginnings* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1920), 1-6, 223-230, 393-398. Lockey wrote an early history of the concept of Pan-Americanism. He noted that even though the term was not employed until the shortly before the 1889 Pan-American Conference, the Monroe Doctrine determined the U.S. approach to a Pan-American community.

²⁰ Arthur P. Whitaker, "The Origin of the Western Hemisphere Idea," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 98, no. 5 (October 1954): 323-325; An analysis of the contradictions between the ideal of Pan-Americanism and the reluctance of the United States government to relinquish its privileged hemispheric role to foster equal trade relationships during the Wilson administration appears in Mark T.

Porfiriato, the *Mexican Herald* avidly supported the idea of Pan-Americanism in order to create mutually beneficial trade relationships in the Americas. The idea of Pan-Americanism made the concept of a “community of nations” in the Americas a realizable possibility and the concept became integral to the *Herald’s* vision of Mexico’s future. Despite Knudson’s claims, Hudson and his newspaper’s editors rejected European developmental models for Mexico and Latin America because of their imperialist characteristics and encouraged the Mexican government to emulate what they considered the more enviable economic policies of the United States.²¹ The *Herald* often sought to demonstrate the detrimental costs of having a close economic relationship with the imperialist powers of Europe and, thus, excluded them from the modern international community that a successful Pan-American community could create. Chapter three describes how the *Herald’s* editors defined the political character and international program for modern Mexico.

Chapter four describes how the *Herald’s* depictions of the ideal, future city provided an intelligible landscape to modernity. Hudson used the city as a symbol of the Mexico that American investors and expatriates could help create. Depictions of the city rejected provincial Mexico as antithetical to the community of modern states. As the *Herald* proclaimed, “modern Mexico [was] no longer provincial.”²² In the *Herald*, the urban landscape came to symbolize the modern status of nationhood.

Gilderhaus, *Pan-American Visions: Woodrow Wilson in the Western Hemisphere, 1913-1921* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1986), 27-32, 46-50.

²¹ “Growing Trade,” *Mexican Herald*, June 22, 1900, 7.

²² “New Years Day in Mexico,” *The Mexican Herald*, January 1, 1896, 2.

Chapter five explores the implications that Paul Hudson's vision had for broader Mexican culture. Hudson's newspaper often depicted Mexican history and traditional culture in contradictory terms. Depending on the issue at hand, the *Herald* denounced and praised Mexico's past as both backward and as a source of historical legitimacy. Articles in the *Herald* often referenced the popular mythologized vision of the powerful Aztec nation to rationalize Mexico's ideal role in Central America and the Caribbean. Likewise, the culture of modernity, that which the *Herald's* editors considered necessary for progress, afforded Americans in Mexico the role of providing a model for Mexican society. Thus, the editors commented on all aspects of modern society. As a gendered medium, the newspaper addressed the appropriate fashions, activities, and conduct of men and women in its idealized modern community. All told, the *Herald* represented the imaginings of its editors and their efforts to influence how Mexicans conceptualized their national identity and place in the broader world.²³ The newspaper's articles and illustrations defined the parameters of modernity and provided clear depictions of the physical, political, and cultural aspects of the community of modern nations.

²³ William French, "Imagining the Cultural History of Nineteenth-Century Mexico," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 79, no. 2 (May 1999): 249-267. French provides an important analysis of how individuals have imagined the nation, which this thesis uses to underscore the community of modern nations as the imaginings of the *Herald's* editors. An important criticism of this cultural approach to history appears in Stephen Haber, "Anything Goes: Mexico's 'New' Cultural History," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 79, no. 2 (May 1999): 309-330.

CHAPTER 3

A GREATER MEXICO: PAN-AMERICANISM AND THE REJECTION OF IMPERIALISM

The *Mexican Herald* compared the behavior of national governments in international politics as a way to delineate modernity in the political arena. To the newspaper's editors, truly modern nations rejected classic European imperialism and established mutually beneficial international relationships. The *Herald* not only proposed such prescriptions for the development of progressive international policies but also offered the model of the United States to illustrate policies appropriate to nations belonging to a modern community. While the United States had a controversial relationship with imperialism during the Porfirian years, which witnessed the Spanish-American War (1898) and the expansion of the Monroe Doctrine (1823), the *Herald* always found ways to separate the U. S. model from European ones. Furthermore, the principle of establishing mutually beneficial relationships became clear in the newspaper's promotion of a Pan-American ideal.²⁴ Essentially, the editors created an ideal international relationship based on mutual benefit and economic cooperation with their praise of "Pan-Americanism" and rejection of the European alternative characterized by militarism and economic domination.²⁵

²⁴ "Central American Union," and "Nature and Man," *Mexican Herald*, July 16, 1906, 1; "The Outlook," *Mexican Herald*, August 26, 1906, 1; "A Good Feature," *Mexican Herald*, March 30, 1901, 8; "Buffalo Fair Open," *Mexican Herald*, May 21, 1901; "Senator Burton," *Mexican Herald*, June 1, 1901, 2.

²⁵ The *Herald* frequently used the term "Pan-Americanism" in its discussions of the 1889, 1901, and 1906 Pan-American conferences and the security of the western hemisphere. "Pan-American Humbugging," *Mexican Herald*, June 15, 1897, 4; "Ever Hopeful," *Mexican Herald*, March 16, 1899, 4; "Courts of Europe," *Mexican Herald*, April 19, 1898, 5.

As Porfirio Díaz succeeded in attracting foreign businesses and investment into Mexico, several models of modern nationdom appeared as possible alternatives for Mexican development. The nation's new railroad network, which connected Mexico City to principal cities throughout the country, demonstrated this fact: The railroad featured investment from a variety of nations.²⁶ Thus, American investors in Mexico and throughout Latin America at the turn of the twentieth century faced significant competition from Europe. Great Britain, France, and Germany held massive investments and dominated trade relationships with South America and the Caribbean. In fact, Great Britain possessed fifty percent of the foreign investments in Latin America in 1914.²⁷

It was in this competitive context that entrepreneurs from the United States sought to influence development in Mexico. The investors whom the *Mexican Herald* attracted to Mexico needed to out-compete Europeans there.²⁸ Yet, the *Herald* could not simply dismiss the importance of European investment, which the científicos had deemed vital to Mexico's development. As a result, the newspaper avoided making strong demands for an exclusively American investment policy. In fact, Hudson never ceased in his praise of

²⁶ John Mason Hart, *Empire and Revolution: The Americans in Mexico Since the Civil War* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002): 106-118.

²⁷ Peter H. Smith, *Talons of the Eagle: Dynamics of U.S.-Latin American Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996): 28.

²⁸ Members of the American Colony had established an elite class by 1985 that maintained close ties to Porfirio Díaz. The *Herald* was influential in attracting members of the new American investment elite to Mexico, the most important of which was Paul Hudson himself. Hudson's promotion of the profitable investment climate in Mexico enticed men such as railroad investor and rubber plantation promoter Alfred Bishop Mason and tropical agriculture investor William Vernon Backus; William Schell Jr., "American Investment in Tropical Mexico: Rubber Plantations, Fraud, and Dollar Diplomacy, 1897-1913," *Business History Review* 64, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 236-237. Paul Hudson's *Modern Mexico*, a New York based publication, commonly had notes on the American colony's important investors. "The Death of Major Gorsuch," *Modern Mexico*, 11, (1906); "Notes and Comments," *Modern Mexico*, 14, (1903).

the open investment policies that Díaz maintained, including Díaz's active encouragement of European investors.

The *Herald's* reticence did not continue into the sphere of international politics. It was in this arena that the newspaper sharply criticized European policy toward Latin America, which the editors deemed imperialist, in contrast to the supposedly benevolent intentions of U.S. investors.²⁹ Commonly referring to the United States as “the Great Republic” in comparison to alleged European despotism, the *Herald's* writers positioned the United States as the flagship country within an idealized community of modern American states.³⁰ For the *Herald*, the United States served as a political and social model for aspiring nations in Latin America. The newspaper continually extolled the virtues of its Pan-American vision for mutually inclusive economic development based on private capital investments. The *Herald* also sharply contrasted its Pan-Americanism to what it described as an undesirable alternative for Mexico: Europeans' militarist, imperialist policies, which were allegedly intended to dominate and divide Latin America rather than develop it.³¹

The editors of the newspaper used the United States as a tangible example by which the *Herald* could define the characteristics of a modern nation. Hudson and the editors of the *Herald* nevertheless often had to adapt their model of modernity,

²⁹Observers such as Wallace Thompson, an editor for the *Herald*, noticed the conflicted nature of Mexican sentiments toward foreign investors from both the United States and Europe. Thompson concluded that while Mexicans appreciated the qualities of individual investors, the Mexican people (elites) largely rejected the image of U. S. benevolence out of fear of foreign invasion derived from Mexico's historical experiences with France and the United States. Wallace Thompson, *The Mexican Mind: A Study of National Psychology* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, and Company, 1922), 257-259.

³⁰ “The U.S. and Spain,” *Mexican Herald*, January 15, 1897, 1.

³¹ “South America the Next Victim,” *Mexican Herald*, May 9, 1899, 3; “Dividing South America,” *Mexican Herald*, October 31, 1898, 3; “The March of Empire,” *Mexican Herald*, March 25, 1899, 1.

sometimes considerably. Using a malleable U.S. model enabled the editors to establish the inferiority of other national models, especially European ones. Through the newspaper's coverage of European involvement in inter-American affairs, the editors attempted to discredit European imperialism. The *Herald* warned that had the United States and Great Britain gone to war during the Venezuelan Crisis (1895-1896), the "military nations of Europe" would have attempted to divide Latin America. Securing the role of the United States in leading Latin America, the *Herald* claimed that only the "power and prestige of the United States stood in the way" of Latin America's demise.³² The *Herald* commonly cited foreign newspapers as evidence of European imperial aspirations and claimed that Latin American nations needed to create a united front, headed by the United States, to block European imperialism.³³

Mexico's own long and complicated history with U.S. territorial expansion often complicated Hudson's efforts to advocate for the U.S. model. Hudson had to convince his audience that Americans were not merely interested in promoting U. S. as opposed to European territorial expansion.³⁴ Hudson experienced some success in this regard because he and his editors often served as informal intermediaries between Washington and the Díaz regime. Always sensitive to accusations of pushing U.S. policy on Mexico, Hudson often encouraged the Díaz regime to voice its own policies in his newspaper. William Schell demonstrated that regarding many U.S. policies, including the

³² "Dividing South America," *Mexican Herald*, October 31, 1898, 3

³³ "Argentina and England," *Mexican Herald*, February 7, 1896, 4; "The Peril of Great Armies," *Mexican Herald*, August 22, 1899, 4; "The Courts of Europe," June 29, 1906, 6.

³⁴ "American and Mexican Expansion," *Mexican Herald*, February 10, 1898, 7; The *Two Republics*, the *Herald's* rival English language newspaper in Mexico City, supported the notion of U. S. imperialism outright. The *Two Republics* censured anti-imperialists as hindering the United States' natural right of territorial expansion. "Some Imperialists," *Two Republics*, December 12, 1898, 4.

controversial issues surrounding the 1898 Spanish-American War, whereby U.S. intentions were criticized as imperialist themselves, the *Herald* actually supported Díaz's diplomatic stances over Washington's.³⁵

Díaz's censorship of the press further complicated Hudson's ability explicitly to state positions in opposition to the Díaz regime. Regardless of such complications, Hudson and his editors continued to promote a U.S. model in one version or another. When the *Herald* promoted courses of action that Díaz rejected, Hudson often adapted the newspaper's stance. Debate over the Spanish-American War exemplified this dynamic. Originally supporting U. S. involvement in Cuba as an expression of the Monroe Doctrine, Hudson had to moderate the newspaper's strong support of U. S. intervention once Díaz declared his support for Spain.³⁶

Such political realities forced Hudson to balance the paper's support of Díaz's policies with Washington's. When U.S. foreign policy strayed from the *Herald's* benevolent portrayal, Hudson and the editors often felt the effects of Washington's decision-making first hand.³⁷ The image of an imperial United States that the Spanish-American War created was further complicated by the militaristic policies of Theodore Roosevelt (1901-1909) following President William McKinley's assassination in 1901.³⁸

³⁵ Schell, *Integral Outsiders*, xvii-xix; "Adopt the Díaz Doctrine," *Mexican Herald*, August 1, 1898, 7. *El Tiempo* avidly opposed U. S. involvement in the Cuba Revolution and promoted Mexico's involvement on the side of Spain. "Cuba en El Congreso," *El Tiempo*, April 27, 1898, 2; "Viva España," *El Tiempo*, May 2, 1898, 1.

³⁶ "Cuban War Notes," *Mexican Herald*, March 12, 1896, 1; "Silly Official," *Mexican Herald*, March 24, 1898, 3; "Americans in Mexico," *Mexican Herald*, October 5, 1900, 2; "Public Opinion," *Mexican Herald*, October 9, 1895, 2.

³⁷ Schell, *Integral Outsiders*, 46.

³⁸ The Spanish language press paid close attention to the war and Theodore Roosevelt's policies; "Comentario de Díaz," *El Tiempo*, May 3, 1898, 2; "Mr Roosevelt y La República," *El Imparcial*, July 20, 1904, 1.

Roosevelt's big stick policy and the expansion of the Monroe doctrine alienated Díaz and his advisors from the U.S. model.³⁹ In fact, Roosevelt's militarism actually persuaded Díaz to encourage more European investment to curb U.S. influence in Mexico.⁴⁰

Washington's militarist Latin American policies at the turn of the century made it problematic for the *Herald* to support the United States wholeheartedly. Despite his favorable relationship with Díaz, Hudson could hardly afford to display an entirely approving stance regarding perceived American imperialism.⁴¹ Negative Mexican sentiment toward even the suggestion of American imperial aspirations complicated any discussion of the relationship between the two countries. For the *Herald*, negotiating a more favorable relationship between the United States and Mexico was a necessity for getting Mexican elites and the Díaz government to realize their country's role in a community of modern nations.

The *Herald* could not overtly present the United States as a model for Mexico without running the risk of losing credibility among Porfirian elites as a mouthpiece of Yankee imperialism. Instead, Hudson and the editors advocated for the U.S. model in more subtle ways. First, the *Herald* fostered a sense of community and commonality between the two nations by advocating the ideal of Pan-Americanism. Second, through its portrayal of international affairs, the *Herald* lambasted the models that European

³⁹ Smith, 29-33.

⁴⁰ Matías Romero, *Mexico and the United States: A Study of Subjects Affecting their Political, Commercial, and Social Relations, Made with a View to their Promotion*, Vol. 1 (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1898), 385-391. Romero, Mexico's minister to Washington from 1882 to 1889, made an effort to quiet fears over Mexico's possible annexation by the United States. He felt that the Díaz administration's concern was misplaced and that the United States did not want to jeopardize the economic advantage of trading with Mexico; "Broadening the Monroe Doctrine," *Mexican Herald*, January 4, 1898, 2.

⁴¹ Schell, *Integral Outsiders*, 138-141; "El Caricatura Extranjera," *El Diario*, March 19, 1907, 2.

nations presented, especially that of Great Britain.⁴² The nations of Europe, despite their arguably modern status, had no place in the community of modern American nations according to the *Herald*.

The *Herald* often used visual imagery literally to illustrate the community to which both the United States and Mexico belonged. The article that accompanied the aforementioned image of “The World at War” (Figure 1) discussed the state of the world in 1897. The image displayed a North American continent as devoid of international borders and set apart from the remainder of the world by its relative peace.⁴³ The editors regularly used this portrayal of a comparatively pacific hemisphere to describe Mexico and the United States.⁴⁴ Peace, of course, was often a matter of perspective in the columns of the *Herald*. The article declared the two countries free of any disputes by downplaying U.S. involvement in the Venezuelan crisis (1895-96) and in Cuba. Both of these affairs proved difficult for the *Herald* to explain. The Venezuelan crisis centered on a boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana. The United States, at the request of the Venezuelan government, intervened in the matter and forced Great Britain into arbitration.⁴⁵ The *Herald* depicted the United States’ involvement in international disputes such as these as having a different character than the turmoil rampant in the rest

⁴² “Cheering Thoughts,” *Mexican Herald*, March 9, 1896, 6. This article used a sermon by the reverend Talmage that highlighted that god was “for” the United States. The page long article explained what policies and actions made the United States favorable to god and how other nations fell short. This exemplifies the *Herald*’s criticism of European models.

⁴³ “Wars, Rebellions, and Bloodshed,” *Mexican Herald*, January 3, 1897, 1.

⁴⁴ “The World Today,” *Mexican Herald*, September 17, 1897, 4; “The Díaz Doctrine,” *Mexican Herald*, December 27, 1897, 2; “Yellow Americans,” *Mexican Herald*, April 3, 1898, 6; “At Washington,” *Mexican Herald*, April 6, 1898, 1, 8; “New Year’s Wishes,” *Mexican Herald*, January 2, 1902, 2.

⁴⁵ Dexter Perkins, *A History of the Monroe Doctrine* (Boston, MA: Little and Brown, 1966). Perkins argued that forcing Great Britain into arbitration was a significant reinforcement of the Monroe Doctrine.

of the world: “True there is the Cuban trouble menacing; and there is the uplifted sword protecting Venezuela. But the menace and the sword are concealed.”⁴⁶

In effect, the *Herald* emphasized the United States’ role as hemispheric peacekeeper to counter criticism of U.S. policy as imperialistic in its own right. For example, two types of images surfaced in the pages of the newspaper regarding the Spanish-American War: illustrations of U. S. military might, which was portrayed as benevolent, and examples of U.S. officials securing peace. One of the *Herald*’s illustrations (figure 2) of the 1899 Peace Conference at Paris represented the latter. In it, the editors extolled the United States’ enviable position as both a peacekeeper in Latin American and as a model of modern nation status.⁴⁷



Fig. 2 “Meeting of the Peace Commissioners at Paris”

Source: “Meeting of the Peace Commissioners at Paris,” *Mexican Herald*, December 11, 1898, 5, <http://www.paperofrecord.com>

The *Herald* commonly offered reminders of the power of the United States and rarely failed to mention that such prestige belonged exclusively to progressive nations. The following images of the American fleet (figure 3) accompanied an editorial on the global superiority of American naval power in 1908.

⁴⁶ “Wars, Rebellions, and Bloodshed,” *Mexican Herald*, January 3, 1897, 1.

⁴⁷ “Meeting of the Peace Commissioners at Paris,” *Mexican Herald*, December 11, 1898, 5.

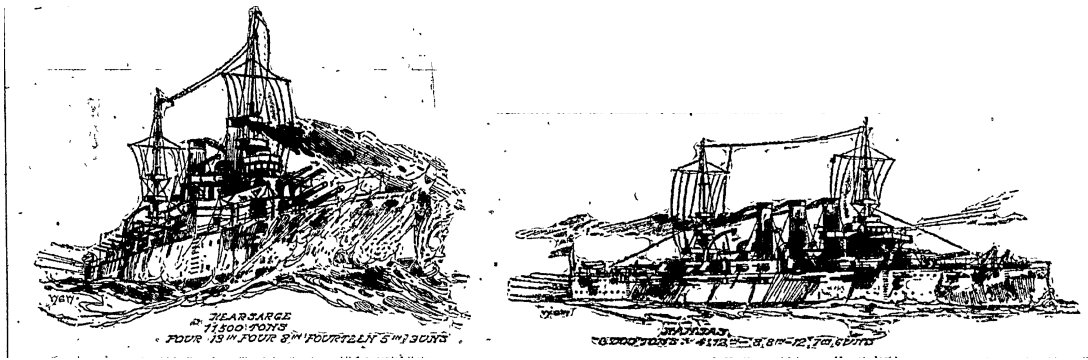


Fig. 3 “The American Fleet”

Source: “American Fleet to Make Long Stop,” *Mexican Herald*, January 26, 1908, 19, <http://www.paperofrecord.com>.

The *Herald* ironically compared these “floating fortresses” to the “Carthaginian and Roman navies” that were marvels of their day. The article further established the inferiority of the Spanish fleet by comparison.⁴⁸ Again, America’s military strength was distinguished from that of European nations, in this case Spain, in the pages of the *Herald* since U.S. power was supposedly employed to secure the hemisphere from European imperialist designs.

In 1898, the *Herald* published an article concerning the “outlook of the world” for the New Year.⁴⁹ In it, the *Herald* distinguished between the United States and the nations of Europe and outlined the consequences of interacting with European nations for Mexico. This article drew clear dichotomies between the prospects for the Americas and the rest of the world. The *Herald* portrayed the policies of European nations as predatory by focusing on European involvement in Asia. Noting that the latter’s future looked bleak, the article claimed “the most powerful peoples of Europe are preparing for the seemingly inevitable dismemberment of China.” This article displayed admiration for

⁴⁸ “American Fleet to Make Long Stop,” *Mexican Herald*, January 26, 1908, 19.

⁴⁹ “1898,” *Mexican Herald*, January 1, 1898, 3.

China, where “a true civilization flourished” in opposition to the “restless” European races that migrated to Europe long ago.⁵⁰ The rhetoric and symbolism in this article implied a comparison between the culturally and historically rich nations of China and of Mexico.

The newspaper commonly ran columns warning Mexicans of the dangers of European imperialism. The *Herald* used Europe’s involvement in Asia to alert Mexicans to the possibility of a “European coalition” with the intent of conquering and “dividing Latin America.”⁵¹ One such article claimed that the powers of Europe had returned to their “old home to conquer and subdue the ancient peoples who remained contented in the land of the Rising Sun.” The article continued to describe the European race as the “most restless of mortals” whose mere interest in the “Orient [swayed] their public policies” and then “menace[d],” with “arms of precision and [their] formidable fleets, the most ancient of peoples, who [were] to become the vassals of the despised outer barbarians.”⁵²

The column continued, claiming that in “the New World the prospect for peace [was] an excellent one.” The Cuban struggle was coming to its close and the people of the United States looked admirably at the peaceful annexation of Hawaii. The article described Mexico in the same fashion as the United States. Like the U.S., Mexico had “no foreign entanglements,” a “peaceful policy of internal development,” and a “sound financial situation.” Perhaps most importantly, Díaz encouraged the involvement of

⁵⁰ “1898,” *Mexican Herald*, January 1, 1898, 3.

⁵¹ “Central America,” *Mexican Herald*, February 14, 1898, 2; “From the Old World,” *Mexican Herald*, October 11, 1897.

⁵² “1898,” *Mexican Herald*, January 1, 1898, 3.

“industrious and enterprising foreigners” who took an active part in “transforming provincial and backward Mexico into a great modern nation worthy of the wonderful geographical position it occupie[d].” Mexico’s future as “an opulent and leading nation,” depended on the Mexican government’s continued support of American investors. The article stressed the importance of Mexico as “the bridge of commerce” in a “distinctively commercial age.”⁵³

This article reflected a common theme in the *Mexican Herald*. The newspaper often portrayed European nations as a monolithic group posing a serious threat to peaceful and culturally rich developing nations such as Mexico. Each article of this kind discussed the United States and Mexico as having similar international policies but often depicted Mexico as a nation that could not resist the powers of Europe without U.S. support.⁵⁴ The community implied in the *Herald*’s treatment of international affairs afforded a special place not only for the United States and Mexico but the entire Western hemisphere. At the start of the Spanish-American War, Hudson began explicitly to encourage the Mexican government to pursue a policy of hemispheric development that would emulate that of the United States.⁵⁵

According to critics, U.S. policy toward Latin America at the turn of the twentieth century was more imperialist than benevolent. Hudson handled this contradiction with little difficulty. In an 1898 article on imperialism in the Americas, the *Herald* explained the need for the United States to pursue a “policy of expansion.” Hudson explained that

⁵³“1898,” *Mexican Herald*, January 1, 1898, 3.

⁵⁴ Thompson, *The Mexican Mind*, 259-261.

⁵⁵ “American and Mexican Expansion,” *Mexican Herald*, February 10 1898, 1.

for the United States to allow “England to take new territory” in the Americas was a practical impossibility. This article did not merely defend U.S. expansionist policies, it went so far as to promote the Mexican government’s emulation of them. Hudson argued that the American investors in Mexico would like to see the country exercise “her manifest destiny.” Hudson attempted to avoid criticism of this stance, which effectively betrayed him as an American imperialist sympathizer, by couching his argument in opposition to the expansion of the United States. The article described Mexico as having the most important role of all the Latin American countries: “Mexico [was] the elder sister of the Latin-American nations...whose role it [was] to check a southern advance of the Anglo-Saxon.” Still, the expansion of the United States and those of European nations differed markedly by Hudson’s account. The expansion of the United States appeared as an inevitability of its size, as if the result of a natural process beyond its control. Comparatively, the territorial expansion of European nations resulted only from their “land greed.”⁵⁶ Without using the term often, Hudson seemed to adhere to the concept of manifest destiny, which U. S. officials used to rationalize the Mexican-American War (1846-1848). The *Herald* treated North American expansion as an inexorable characteristic of its progressive growth. Hence, any nation with a large geographic presence and progressive peoples would continue to add to its national territory.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Like several contemporary observers at the time, Paul Hudson treated American expansion less as an imperial act and more as a necessary fulfillment of a progressive and successful nation’s need to expand physically. Percy Martin shared this understanding of the inevitability of the territorial expansion that accompanied economic growth. “Central America,” *Mexican Herald*, February 14, 1898, 2; Percy Falke Martin, *Mexico of the Twentieth Century*. vol. 2 (London: E. Arnold, 1908), 218-230.

⁵⁷ Percy Martin observed that Mexicans feared this “inevitable” expansion would eventually result in the United States annexing the rest of Mexico. Although Martin believed that the opportunity to annex a nation as advanced as Mexico had passed, he noticed that this “fear” remained a concern among Mexican elites. Martin, *Mexico of the Twentieth Century*, vol. 1, 20-23.

According to the *Herald*, Mexico, being the “northernmost outpost of the Latin civilization,” seemed poised to follow the same expansionist path as the United States. The article outlined the obvious course for Mexico as one that incorporated Central America, Colombia, Venezuela, and the Caribbean into its territorial boundaries as a “sphere of influence.”⁵⁸ For Caribbean and Central American nations, this course entailed a physical incorporation into a greater Mexico, while Colombia and Venezuela would have comprised a sphere of developmental influence. This concept of a “Greater Mexico” had been espoused in the *Herald*’s columns before, but at the onset of the Spanish-American War, Hudson pushed for the Díaz government to take the concept seriously.⁵⁹ Only after Díaz rejected such notions in favor of neutrality did Hudson back away from such explicitly stated notions of an expansionist Mexico and begin to support the president’s anti-imperial vision of Mexico’s future.⁶⁰

But expansionist sentiments did not entirely disappear from the columns of the *Herald*. Neither did the criticisms of European nations cease. Those surrounding the *Herald* continued to conceive of Mexico as a future international power in the fashion of the United States. Such notions remained either implied in the *Herald*’s advocacy of a united Latin American defense against the “land greed[y]” Europeans or in the editors’ statements in other publications concerning the future of Mexico. For example, in

⁵⁸ “American and Mexican Expansion,” *Mexican Herald*, February 10 1898, 1.

⁵⁹ “Greater Mexico,” *Mexican Herald*, May 7, 1899, 3; “Mexico’s Manifest Destiny,” *Mexican Herald*, January 4, 1898, 2.

⁶⁰ “The Díaz Doctrine Commended,” *Mexican Herald*, November 26, 1901, 5; “The Díaz Doctrine,” *Mexican Herald*, November 27, 1901, 2; “The Díaz Doctrine,” *Mexican Herald*, December 5, 1901, 5; Conservative papers such as *El Tiempo* continued to advocate for Mexico taking a privileged place among Central American nations. “La Última Contestación de Guatemala,” *El Tiempo*, May 15, 1907, 3.

discussing the growth and modernization of Mexico City in *Dunn's Review* in 1908, Frederic Guernsey, at that time chief editor of the *Herald*, stated that “the city of Mexico had emerged from its narrow bounds...and realize[d] that it [was] going to be the capital of a tropical empire--the great southwest of the North American continent.”⁶¹

The editors of the *Herald* continued to advocate what amounted to an imperialistic concept of a Greater Mexico. While praising the Mexican government for refusing to entertain an imperialist policy in an 1899 editorial, the *Herald* asserted that the Central American peoples actually desired the influence of a Greater Mexico. Hudson attempted to remain consistent with Porfirian policy by supporting Díaz's avoidance of “entangling alliances.” Nevertheless, he made it clear that the “people in Central America would welcome annexation” to Mexico.⁶² The concept of a community of modern nations transcended the United States' and Mexico's traditional national boundaries.

U.S. officials were often known to promote their own sense of Pan-Americanism. For example, Secretary of State James G. Blaine called for an international conference as early as 1881 to promote peace among the nations of North and South America. Ultimately, the idea that drove U.S. versions of Pan-Americanism related to a more open exchange and trade relationship with Latin American countries. Most of the nations of South America had been involved in devastating wars in the years leading up to Blaine's call for a Pan-American conference, including the Paraguayan War (1865-70) and the

⁶¹ Frederick Guernsey, “The City of Mexico,” in *Dunn's Review*, vol. 11 (New York: R. G. Dunn & Co., 1908), 21-23.

⁶² “Greater Mexico,” *Mexican Herald*, May 7, 1899, 3; For Comparison, see “La Unificación de Las Repúblicas Centroamericanas,” *El Tiempo*, March 14, 1908, 2.

War of the Pacific (1879-1884). The *Herald* eventually covered three Pan-American conferences (1902, 1906, and 1910) during its run with consistent optimism.

Unfortunately for the *Herald's* editors, American politicians did not pursue the Pan-American ideal with conviction. A June 15, 1897 article criticized the United States government for politicians' "shallow pretenses" of love for the Pan-American ideal. The author complained that even while the politicians who controlled Washington spoke of the accomplishments that a Pan-American community could achieve, they refused to lower U.S. tariffs. The *Herald* maintained that there existed no institution that could accomplish "what might be accomplished, if Pan-Americanism were a reality instead of a mere bit of interesting theory."⁶³ The article maintained that "American business interests are not going to be helped in a very large way" if politicians in the United States did not commit to the Pan-American ideal.

The *Herald's* argument illustrated an important aspect concerning its idealized community of modern nations. The primary characteristic of a government included in this community was one that embraced a modern capitalist economic system that encouraged inter-American investment.⁶⁴ The ideal of Pan-Americanism thereby expressed the community of modern nations. Discussing the modern status of the nations of Central America, the *Herald* declared that five republics possessed the "apparatus of civilized government, with armies, some show of navies... and modern artillery," but still

⁶³ "Pan-American Humbugging," *Mexican Herald*, June 15, 1897, 4.

⁶⁴ Wallace Thompson, in *Trading With Mexico*, reinforced the *Herald's* notion of a modern government as one that promoted foreign investment. Discussing how to revive Mexico from its revolutionary status, Wallace argued that the "solution to Mexico's problems of commerce and business rest in hands alien to Mexico." Wallace Thompson, *Trading With Mexico* (New York: Dodd, Meade, and Co., 1921), 258-267.

possessed economic systems that “concern[ed] no one outside of Central America.”⁶⁵

This article explained that the major nations of the world would not take Central American nations “with entire seriousness” because these countries failed to “behave in a manner befitting orderly communities.”⁶⁶ The article thus highlighted a basic principle of how the *Herald*’s editors conceived of modernity in the hemisphere: modern nations should feature governments that behaved correctly. Of course, the measure of such behavior was the United States.

Hudson and his editors rationalized the exclusion of European nations from Mexico by presenting European policy as a pretense for economic imperialism. Articles in the *Herald* clearly delineated the danger of having a close economic relationship with Europe: loss of autonomy. Thus, without always explicitly arguing that Mexico should follow a U.S. model, Hudson’s newspaper generally implied that Mexico needed a developmental model to become a modern nation.

⁶⁵ “Pan-Americanism,” *Mexican Herald*, November 30, 1999, 1.

⁶⁶ “Central American Union,” *Mexican Herald*, July 16, 1906, 4.

CHAPTER 4

“A CITY IN THE AIR:” IMAGINING THE MODERN URBAN LANDSCAPE

The *Mexican Herald*'s editors defined modernity for its readers by depicting Mexico's future in various newspaper illustrations. The physical and social landscape of an idealized, futuristic, and often generic cityscape provided the editors the opportunity to make modernity in Porfirian Mexico intelligible to readers and curious passersby alike. “A City in the Air,” (figure 4) provides an important example of the *Herald*'s modernist abstractions.⁶⁷ As this illustration demonstrates, the *Herald*'s depictions of the idealized future usually featured the urban arena.

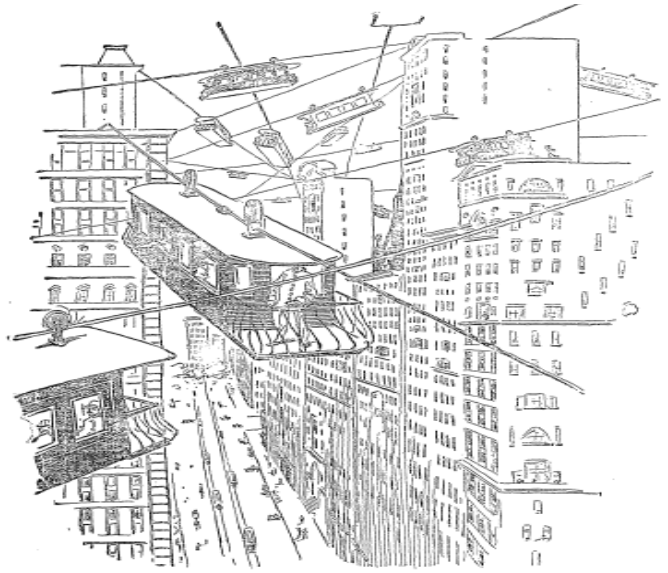


Fig. 4 “A City in the Air”

Source: “A City in the Air,” *Mexican Herald*, January 5, 1897, 2, <http://www.paperofrecord.com>.

The city became the ideological showcase for modernizing elites and enterprising Americans who related progress with urban growth and the consequent decline of

⁶⁷ “A City in the Air,” *Mexican Herald*, January 5, 1897, 2.

provincialism among Mexicans.⁶⁸ The development of modern, orderly cities created the appearance of modernity necessary to Mexico's eligibility for inclusion in the Herald's community of modern nations.

"A City in The Air" offered the newspaper's readers a pseudoscientific solution to the very real problem of street congestion in Mexico City. The article's author, Frank Harris, applied considerable pragmatism to a problem whose solution otherwise appeared illusory. In his depiction of Mexico City's potential transit system, Harris's supposedly scientific and systematized approach showcased a highly idealistic vision of the city's near future. Like many of the newspaper's representations of the city's potential, Harris's piece highlighted exaggerated versions of existing technology as the centerpiece of his urban vision. According to Harris, local and national administrations needed only to implement the plans laid out in the *Herald* to materialize these modern programs and help Mexico City progress into the future. Similar to how Porfirian-era cartography allowed Mexican elites to realize their ideal of an ordered Mexican society, the *Herald's* editors used the visual power of the newspaper to "fix" modern urban spaces within the imagined community of modern nations.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Robert S. Barrett, *Modern Mexico's Standard Guide to the City of Mexico and the Vicinity*, 3rd ed. (New York: Modern Mexico, 1903), 19-24. Barrett's book was published by Paul Hudson's Modern Mexico Publishing Company in New York. The publication's purpose was to foster increased interest, travel, and investment in Mexico. Barrett's description of Mexico City illustrated the sentiment among Americans, such as Paul Hudson, who related modernity with a planned urban landscape; a discussion of the formation and growth of typical urban spaces in Latin America appears in Alan Gilbert, *The Latin American City* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1998), 113-120; Several Spanish language newspapers sought to encourage the Porfirian government to incorporate existing structures in the new building projects in Mexico City. "El Vertigo de Progreso," *El Imparcial*, August 12, 1903, 3.

⁶⁹ The *Mexican Herald* covered state attempts at mapping the nation much less than other projects for simplification. Nevertheless, as a nation-building activity, cartography was immensely important to the creation of the modern Mexican state. For an important analysis of cartography and state fixations, see Raymond B. Craib, *Cartographic Mexico: A History of State Fixations and Fugitive Landscapes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 1-10.

Harris sought to demonstrate that the technology for this progressive transit system could exist in Mexico by the turn of the twentieth century. Importantly, the system was both scientific and practical. Anchoring his depiction of Mexico City's future in such terms typified the *Herald's* portrayal of modernity. The newspaper's editors defined the role of Americans in Mexico in terms of their ability to change what the editors considered the pre-modern and provincial character of the nation. Harris' article presented the current and future progress American investors could bring by highlighting both the benefits the proposed overhead cable service provided and the advances Mexico City's urban landscape had already witnessed.

Harris's transportation plan was "based upon the height of the new sky-scrappers that [were] being built so rapidly one after another."⁷⁰ The skyscrapers represented the progress that enterprising Americans had already brought to the capital city. Some modifications were needed, such as metal anchors running from the ground to stabilize cables that ran from building to building. Nevertheless, Harris saw the skyscrapers and the motors that ran the cable cars as signs that the age of technological advancement had already reached Mexico. Underscoring this sentiment, he explained that a simple hand crank wheel could turn the cars but because of the invention of the electric motor, "the hand crank would have been [an] ancient and a wholly unworthy way of working such a car."⁷¹ Harris's article and, more importantly, the illustration, demonstrated how

⁷⁰ "A City in the Air," *Mexican Herald*, January 5, 1897, 2.

⁷¹ "A City in the Air," *Mexican Herald*, January 5, 1897, 2.

modernity would continue to transform urban space with the guidance of American investors.⁷²

The article also had implications for a modern work ethic that the *Herald's* editors hoped to instill among Mexicans. Harris outlined the benefits of an overhead cable system in expediting everyday work routines. Many of the *Herald's* plans for urban spaces in Mexico sought to foster progressive business atmospheres and practices. As such, the editors framed their policies for transforming the physical city in terms of creating a productive work environment. Harris argued that his transportation system would allow a businessman on the “seventeenth story of a building” to have a meeting with a man on the “twentieth story” of another without any delay of one’s normal routine. He reasoned that such an individual could conduct his business more efficiently without having “to take an elevator to the ground floor, cross a packed street, enter the building and wait to be carried up.”⁷³ For Harris, the greatest benefit of implementing a modern transit system was its ability to improve business interactions and travel.

The *Herald* also constructed its vision for Mexico’s urban spaces by delineating how to plan entirely new cities. The June 1, 1906 edition of the *Herald* featured an article entitled “Planning [a] Modern City” that exemplified this tendency.⁷⁴ The article praised the Mexican Central Engineering Department’s plans for developing a new residential

⁷² Transforming urban space with the intent of facilitating order and imposing modernist ideals in Mexican society was fundamental to state projects during the Porfiriato regardless of specific American models. Barbara Tenenbaum demonstrated how the Porfirian government’s transformation of the Paseo de la Reforma reflected the government’s imposition of secular ideals on the physical character of the city. Barbara Tenenbaum, “Streetwise History: The Paseo de la Reforma and the Porfirian State, 1876- 1910,” in *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico*, ed. William H. Beezley, Cheryl English Martin, and William E. French (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1994), 127-129, 148-150.

⁷³ “A City in the Air,” *Mexican Herald*, January 5, 1897, 2.

⁷⁴ “Planning Modern City,” *Mexican Herald*, June 1, 1906, 2.

city three kilometers from the growing port city of Manzanillo. The *Herald's* plans for New Manzanillo embodied what James Scott, in *Seeing Like a State*, described as “high-modernism.” Even though high-modernism was a twentieth-century concept, the *Herald* praised similar ideals. Scott analyzed the unintended effects of state attempts to rationalize and simplify the urban environment to achieve more efficient commerce and administration.⁷⁵ The editors of the *Herald* embraced a similar view of urban development as the most effective means of rationalizing economic growth.

The Mexican Central's plans to separate residential and commercial urban spaces effectively reified one of the basic objectives of Scott's high-modernism, single-use urban areas. The *Herald's* article elaborated that the need for the new Manzanillo originated from the expected economic growth of the port city's business sector. The author reasoned that Manzanillo's chief industry, the Pacific terminus of the Mexican Central's railroad lines, would lag in commercial efficiency if a mixed-use city design were implemented there.⁷⁶ Furthermore, growth of the port would require the construction of “business houses” that would crowd out the residents of the city. The Mexican Central planned New Manzanillo for strictly residential use and the *Herald* considered the new city “ideal in every way.”⁷⁷

⁷⁵ I use James Scott's analysis of the twentieth-century concept of high-modernism and his definition of it as a faith in scientific progress. I agree with his assessment that a belief in the progressive nature of science did not equate with scientific practice. In regards to urban planning, high-modernism referred to state attempts to rationalize and simplify the city. Likewise, I define modernity as a faith in progress lacking any strict objectivity. For an analysis of high-modernist ideology, see James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 3-8.

⁷⁶ An early discussion of the Mexican Central's history along with other major railroad companies appears in Fred Wilbur Powell, *The Railroads of Mexico* (Boston, MA: Stratford Co., 1921), 127-133.

⁷⁷ “Planning Modern City,” *Mexican Herald*, June 1, 1906, 2.

“Planning [a] Modern City” praised the central planning ideals that Scott recognized as state projects for urban simplification to improve “the administrative ordering of society.”⁷⁸ The *Herald*’s editors clearly delineated their conception of a modern city in articles such as this. The column illustrated how to plan the ideal city, explaining that “wide streets [had] been surveyed,” appropriate “locations had been assigned for a hospital, a church, and a school house,” and, of course, the residential districts would be separate from the local business district.⁷⁹ The Mexican Central’s plans emphasized health and sanitation as the cardinal advantages of building a planned city such as New Manzanillo. Company planners believed that the “health conditions of Manzanillo [was] not the best” and the solution required “removing the residence portion of the city.” The *Herald*’s editors, along with the Mexican Central’s engineering department, considered single-use areas as the most efficient way to regulate administrative duties. By ensuring that New Manzanillo had “concrete sidewalks,” separate residential areas, and that the “entire town [would] be laid with sewers,” the *Herald* claimed that the city’s appearance and “sanitary conditions [would] be unequalled.”⁸⁰

The Mexican Central’s city plans also implied a desire for a social rationalization of the city. The article explained that city engineers further compartmentalized New Manzanillo’s residential sections. The plans called for an area of cottages close to the

⁷⁸ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 4.

⁷⁹ “Planning Modern City,” *Mexican Herald*, June 1, 1906, 2. This article explained that the purpose of the town was to separate residential areas from port business activity but the Mexican Central engineers planned for a local business district with the realization that certain non-shipping and industrial related businesses would be needed in New Manzanillo.

⁸⁰ “Planning Modern City,” *Mexican Herald*, June 1, 1906, 2.

train station for workers in the old Manzanillo and located what the *Herald* labeled the “peon section of the city” across the tracks and away from the main residential district. The article noted that the Mexican Central would construct “suitable houses...for this element of the population.”⁸¹

The *Herald*’s depiction of this planning practice revealed the editors’ class biases regarding the city’s social segregation. A centrally planned city not only allowed the *Herald* to offer a physical prescription for modern spaces but also allowed the newspaper to describe the social characteristics of such spaces. “Planning [a] Modern City” supported the segregation of residential areas based on economic status as a useful way to organize the city. The *Herald*’s editors’ praise of the social and spatial ordering of New Manzanillo reflected how they saw modernity in “visual aesthetic terms.”⁸² Just as Porfirio Díaz sought to display the image of “order, peace, and progress” in Mexico, the *Herald*’s editors provided a visual order to modernity that allowed them to influence how their readers conceived of modern city life.⁸³ In the pages of the *Mexican Herald*, the city symbolized the community of modern nations.

The *Mexican Herald* also commonly discussed the particularities of modern urban spaces in more global terms. Without actually naming any specific cities as representations of its urban ideal, the newspaper’s editors routinely illustrated the

⁸¹ “Planning Modern City,” *Mexican Herald*, June 1, 1906, 2; For analyses of state attempts to rationalize the social landscape of the city, see Pablo Piccato, *City of Suspects: Crime in Mexico City, 1900-1931* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 17-21; Mark Overmyer-Velázquez, *Visions of the Emerald City: Modernity, Tradition, and the Formation of Porfirian Oaxaca, Mexico* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 40-45.

⁸² Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 4.

⁸³ The Díaz administration used the phrase “Order, Peace, and Progress” as both a rationalization for his dictatorship and to describe Porfirian modernization programs; Michael Johns, *The City of Mexico in the Age of Díaz* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1997), 2.

preeminent features of the imagined Porfirian city. The newspaper's editors often underscored the latest technology and domestic conveniences as a primary feature of the most efficient cities worldwide at the turn of the century. The same technology that made plans for an overhead cable transit system possible, for example, would allow city planners to modernize urban spaces throughout Mexico.⁸⁴ The *Herald* rarely missed an opportunity to aggrandize the importance of American investors in importing such technology, which underscored the editors' belief in Americans' essential role in the country's improvement.

Sanitation was among the most desirable qualities of the modern city. In a rare approbation of something European, one article described the cleanliness of Berlin's apartments and streets as the "model of modernity and cleanliness."⁸⁵ The article at times appeared to critique cities in the United States, but the writer apparently intended simply to demonstrate the importance of a hygienic city in the twentieth century. Berlin, "a city without slums,... gutters,... beggars, or... offensiveness in any outward form," appeared here as a "model of all that a modern city should be." The article clarified its ostensible critique of U.S. cities, especially New York, adding that Americans "knew how to live

⁸⁴ "Street Railway Company," *Mexican Herald*, May 26, 1897, 4; "New Electric Light," *Mexican Herald*, August 10, 1897, 5; Emily Wakild, "Naturalizing Modernity: Urban Parks, Public Gardens, and Drainage Projects in Porfirian Mexico City," *Mexican Studies/ Estudios Mexicanos* 23, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 101-123. Wakild explores Porfirian officials' relationship to the natural world as they continued to modernize Mexico City with "electric streetlights, expansive railroads, and underground sewers." She argues that such officials subjected the natural environment to the technology driven rationalization of Mexico City.

⁸⁵ "The Cleanest City," *Mexican Herald*, September 5, 1906, 6; An important study of the relationship between modernization and the appearance of public health in Porfirian Mexico appears in Claudia Agostoni, *Monuments of Progress: Modernization and Public Health in Mexico City 1876-1910* (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2003), 1-21. In his study on state attempts to repress crime, Pablo Piccato similarly argued that Hygiene and Security were "requisites for the stability" of Mexico City. Piccato, *City of Suspects*, 19-21.

because they appreciated the advantages of modern improvements.”⁸⁶ Nevertheless, sanitary conditions reflected a sense of visual order or cleanliness that displayed modernity in the streets and symbolized the idealized modern nation’s triumph over poverty. In reality, rather than eradicate the problem, modernization projects in Porfirian cities tended simply to cover up any visible signs of poverty for the benefit of foreign investors.⁸⁷

The *Herald* contributed to this tendency by its routine support for the restriction of vagrancy in Mexican cities.⁸⁸ As one American tourist frustratingly wrote to the newspaper, “there is a good future ahead for this republic” but the “tramp nuisance” in the cities would likely deter any traveler. The editors placed this letter under a sub-heading that read “Another American Protests Against a Current Evil.”⁸⁹ The *Herald* commonly asserted that the presence of beggars in urban areas represented a “backward” or “uncivilized” force in the city.⁹⁰ Another correspondent for the *Herald* explained that Mexico City would have been a more pleasant place to live if the police would have kept “those low, dirty people” off the streets. This correspondent also claimed that running

⁸⁶ “The Cleanest City,” *Mexican Herald*, September 5, 1906, 6; For a similar view in the Spanish language press, see “La Cuna del Crimen,” *El Imparcial*, July 3, 1908, 1; “La Cuna del Crimen,” *El Imparcial*, July 6, 1908, 4.

⁸⁷ Mark Overmyer-Velázquez noted that Porfirian elites were less concerned with the impact of modernization on the popular classes and more concerned with easing “their anxieties about Porfirian modernization. Overmyer-Velázquez, *Visions of the Emerald City*, 40-43.

⁸⁸ For a look at state attempts to contain beggars and vagrants in Modern Mexico, see Silvia Marina Arrom, *Containing the Poor: The Mexico City Poor House, 1774- 1871* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 11-27.

⁸⁹ “Tramp Nuisance,” *Mexican Herald*, December 28, 1899, 2.

⁹⁰ “The Beggars of Mexico,” *Mexican Herald*, September 22, 1907, 24; “Our Social Problem,” *Mexican Herald*, February 3, 1896, 4; “In and About the Capital,” *The Mexican Herald*, October 15, 1899, 10; “The Transformed City,” *Mexican Herald*, October 10, 1897, 4.

into vagrants and beggars violated the rights of “civilized and impliedly clean people.”⁹¹ She argued that the civilization of a city rested on the cleanliness of those who walked the streets.

While sanitation and social order exemplified two major aspects of the modern urban landscape, the *Mexican Herald* maintained a constant dedication to relating the central importance of technology. The editors frequently attempted to convince the newspaper’s readers that Mexican city life, which seemed to lack the technological advances of U.S. cities, remained archaic. Such protestations apparently found an audience among Porfirian officials. In December 1896, Mexico City administrators granted an eight-year lighting contract to the Siemens and Halske Company of Berlin. The *Herald* announced that a broad electric lighting project would make Mexico City not only one of the best lighted, but also one of the most pleasant Mexican cities in which to live. The author of one such article on this project, K. R. Casper, argued that “one of the first essentials to the comfort of the inhabitants of a modern city [is] the question of light.” He further described the Mexico City administration as “nothing if not progressive”⁹² for granting this contract. Casper’s column embodied the editors’ belief that urban areas needed to have the latest technological advances to be truly modern. The primary benefit of this project was that it facilitated the distribution of lights and electric power to private individuals.

Despite that the editors often wrote about improvements in provincial cities, Mexico City remained the utmost symbol of modernity throughout the entire run of the

⁹¹ “Those Low, Dirty People,” *Mexican Herald*, August 14, 1898, 2.

⁹² “New Electric Light,” *Mexican Herald*, August 10, 1897, 2.

newspaper.⁹³ The editors' visions for a progressive Mexico were best illustrated in their plans for urban development in the capital. The newspaper consistently covered new construction there. Administrative plans for new buildings and street construction demonstrated what amounted to Scott's high-modernist planning at work.⁹⁴ The *Herald* stressed the value of the tendency of Mexico City planners to broaden roads and avenues and create open, habitable spaces. The editors, who supported rationalizing business practices in Mexico, reasoned that an orderly city would foster economic growth. Thus, the *Mexican Herald* praised any plans to simplify the capital city's urban landscape, which by any comparison was far better organized than that of most provincial cities. One article concerning the development of Mexico City claimed that "electric transit had come to aid in the making of a modern city, its residential portion apart from its business center."⁹⁵ The writer of the column asserted that eventually the wealthy individuals of the city would all build palaces on the streets near the Paseo de la Reforma. The image of Mexico City that the editors of the *Herald* depicted and the support for existing structures that they considered compatible with progress instructed readers as to the definitive look of modern city life.

The concept of the community of modern nations had implications for the status of contemporary cities in Mexico. For instance, the *Herald* rarely failed to compare cities in Mexico to those in the United States. Furthermore, the newspaper sought to attribute

⁹³ Johns, 89-95. Michael Johns presents a discussion of the importance of Mexico City in influencing the national Mexican character during the Porfiriato. His work explores the realities of urban life in opposition to Porfirio Díaz's idealized city; James Alex Garza, *The Imagined Underworld: Sex, Crime, and Vice in Porfirian Mexico* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 13.

⁹⁴ "City Modernized," *Mexican Herald*, June 19, 1898, 5.

⁹⁵ "The Modern City," *Mexican Herald*, May 12, 1902, 12.

any urban progress to the enterprising efforts of Americans.⁹⁶ The *Herald*'s editors did not seek merely to give shape to modernity in the city. They rationalized their programs for urban progress by advocating American investment in Mexico. By gauging the progress of Mexican cities in relation to U.S. ones, American versions of modernity became models for Mexican urban development as well.

R. A. Barkley's assessment of Guadalajara in 1899 represented the editors' affirmation of the importance of American investors. Barkley claimed that after having lived in Guadalajara for fifteen years, he had witnessed rapid urban improvement in direct correlation to the influx of immigrants from the United States. He declared that the majority of these enterprising Americans successfully engaged in manufacturing pursuits and brought much needed capital to the city. In his estimation, Americans directly contributed to making Guadalajara a "modern city in every way, with electric lights, street cars, waterworks, and almost all late municipal accessories." The article highlighted that the city being "modernized in every respect" corresponded to it being "Americanized as well."⁹⁷

The editors of the *Mexican Herald* adamantly linked modernity in Mexican and U.S. cities. The city of Monterey often represented one such connection. W. G. Todd wrote in the *Herald* that "Monterey [was] the Chicago of Mexico" and the city "represent[ed] modern Mexico."⁹⁸ The article illustrated the importance of Americans in

⁹⁶ "Public Voice," *Mexican Herald*, October 27, 1896, 2; "Americans in Mexico," *Mexican Herald*, July 24, 1897, 4.

⁹⁷ "City of Palaces," *Mexican Herald*, July 1, 1899, 3.

⁹⁸ "Monterey is the Chicago of Mexico," *Mexican Herald*, March 5, 1896, 6; Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 56-57. James Scott argued that from a state administrator's perspective, the "ground plan of Chicago [was] nearly utopian." The city's gridded layout assisted planners in developing an equally rational underground system of water, gas, and electric lines.

giving Monterey such an elevated status.⁹⁹ Todd credited what he considered Monterey's status as the most progressive city in the country to the "decided influence" that Americans had on "its enterprise." This article demonstrated how the *Herald's* editors created an image of modernity in its idealized urban landscape and thus presented a sense of community that derived its validity from modernity. Todd declared that Nuevo León's state government was "liberal as well as Mexican, or Mexican plus American enterprise."¹⁰⁰

Paul Hudson and the editors of the *Mexican Herald* sought to create a transnational urban identity based in a shared aesthetic of modernity. The fundamental goal of the *Herald's* depictions of Mexico's urban landscape was to create a readership that could imagine the future city, often times outside of the Mexican national context. James Scott's critique of high-modernist planning as an ideology that is inherently indifferent to location, exemplifies the basic premise of the *Herald's* treatments of city development. Modernity was essentially an ideological construct with few geographical boundaries. The editors of the *Herald* embraced programs for rational urban planning, demonstrating their disconnect with the local culture of their new country despite their rhetoric to the contrary, which praised the preservation of popular Mexican culture. Running an influential newspaper within the Porfirian system and with a readership consisting primarily of elites and Mexican officials, Paul Hudson and the editors of the *Mexican Herald* had the opportunity to influence the official discourse of modernization.

⁹⁹ Wallace Thompson commonly asserted in his work that Mexican's lacked the direction to advance progression without the assistance of American investors. Thompson, *Trading With Mexico*, 258-261, 267-273; "Looking Backwards," *Mexican Herald*, January 20, 1902, 3, 4.

¹⁰⁰ "Monterey is the Chicago of Mexico," *Mexican Herald*, March 5, 1896, 6.

With this literary influence, the *Mexican Herald* established the absolute necessity of Americans in modernizing Mexico's urban landscape and by extension, the country.

CHAPTER 5

A VISUAL REGIME: HISTORY, CULTURE, AND MODERNITY

Historical scholarship on the Porfiriato since the 1980s has established the bifurcated nature of Porfirian-era culture. Mexican liberalism following the War of the Reform (1858-61) and French intervention (1862-1867) had established elite culture as the official character of the nation and prized urban and modernist values over traditional customs.¹⁰¹ During Díaz's regime, the process of modernization took on a foreign character that offered U.S. and European investors an important role in developing Mexico's economic and social environment. The success of some American investors in Mexico during the Porfiriato made such individuals rich and even influential, but their economic successes did not necessarily parlay them into membership in Mexico's exclusive social elite.¹⁰²

Thus, the editors of the *Mexican Herald* constantly negotiated Americans' place in Mexico in unique ways. Rather than strictly positioning Americans within Mexican society or promoting Mexicans' adoption of American culture, the *Herald* employed the notion of a shared modern culture that, at least in theory, was not dependent on any single nationality. For the editors of the *Herald*, the principles of modernity existed outside of regional and even national contexts. With that said, the *Herald* rarely failed to employ

¹⁰¹ For an analysis of these conflicts between tradition and modernization in Porfirian Mexico, see William H. Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 125-132.

¹⁰² Schell, *Integral Outsiders*, 54-57. William Schell provides an important discussion of the difficulties that members of the American colony in Mexico City faced when trying to permeate the Mexican social elite. For a study of the Mexican aristocracy during the Porfiriato, see Victor Macías González, "The Mexican Aristocracy and Porfirio Díaz" (PhD diss., Texas Christian University, 1999).

examples of avant-garde modernism in U.S. culture and more often used the American colony in Mexico as an example of a progressive society.¹⁰³

A cursory examination of the *Mexican Herald* has left some scholars with the impression that the *Herald* fell into the category of resolute anti-indigenous or rural sentiment.¹⁰⁴ The newspaper nevertheless experienced a far more complex relationship with Mexican popular culture and the nation's indigenous history. The editors criticized only those aspects of popular Mexican culture that did not fit into their conception of a progressive transnational culture. This reflected a lack of ideological consensus between the newspaper's editors and Porfirian elites. Many Porfirian liberals sought to facilitate the triumph of urban and modern values by destroying traditional Mexican customs and practices.¹⁰⁵ Since the *Herald* understood modernity in largely abstract terms, certain Mexican popular customs could, in theory, exist in a progressive culture as long as such practices did not threaten the modernist principles the *Herald* outlined. Furthermore, Mexico's pre-Columbian history provided a sense of historical legitimacy that paralleled the newspaper's designs for the Mexico's contemporary role in Latin America.

The editors of the *Mexican Herald* established the central state as the heart of modernity in Mexico. But having a government that acted in accordance with the editor's progressive standards failed to constitute the only transformation necessary for Mexico's entry into a community of modern nations. The fundamental binding aspect of the new

¹⁰³ "Social Notes and Personals," *Mexican Herald*, February 13, 1898, 4; "Society," *Mexican Herald*, May 13, 1900, 4; "Social Notes," *Mexican Herald*, May 29, 1899.

¹⁰⁴ For such an impression of the *Herald*'s relationship with modernity, see Jerry Knudson, "The Mexican Herald: Outpost of Empire, 1895-1915," 387- 391.

¹⁰⁵ For analyses of elite challenges to traditional culture, see Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 89-124; French, *A Peaceful Working People: Manners, Morals, and Class-Formation in Northern Mexico* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 63-70.

identity that the *Herald's* editors sought to create was a shared sense of culture. This culture of modernity transcended national boundaries and found expression in the editors' praise of U.S. society. A modern culture, in the *Herald's* fashioning, required an individual to form an identity as a modern citizen that, while sensitive to one's national identity, transcended all others.

Indigenous, provincial, and rural identities in Mexico often conflicted with the *Herald's* program for developing a geographically boundless modern culture. Reiterating the phrase, "in a modern culture," the *Herald* outlined its progressive transnational identity.¹⁰⁶ Although the *Herald's* editors admired some popular customs and rural traditions, they were far more dedicated to transforming provincial Mexico into a nation of progressive peoples. Yet, the newspaper paradoxically placed value on many aspects of Mexican history and culture and asserted that the role of a newspaper in a foreign community could have best served its purposes with a "dignified and friendly course."¹⁰⁷ In a 1906 special edition of the *Herald* commemorating the eleventh anniversary of the founding of the newspaper in Mexico City, the editors demonstrated that while providing news to the English speaking population constituted the primary reason for newspaper's existence, the *Herald* grew into a more substantial role as "the faithful chronicler of the march of progress."¹⁰⁸ The newspaper's account of this surge toward progress primarily entailed constructing a culture of modernity for its readers.

¹⁰⁶ "Prosperity in Mexico," *Mexican Herald*, January 1, 1906, 7.

¹⁰⁷ "Past, Present, and Future," *Mexican Herald*, September 17, 1906, 8.

¹⁰⁸ "Past, Present, and Future," *Mexican Herald*, September 17, 1906, 8.

Elite Mexicans' support for Porfirio Díaz's modernization projects became a popular target for the opposition press. Díaz alternately sought to allay criticism of his regime by subsidizing his supporters among the press and harassing his opposition. Díaz considered the *Herald* a significant crux for his regime among American and British investors as well as an intermediary between his administration and Washington.¹⁰⁹ Where several opposition newspapers portrayed elite and foreign society as effectively bulldozing traditional Mexico during the Porfiriato, the editors of the *Herald* saw an opportunity to cultivate an identity that was both modern and Mexican.¹¹⁰ The *Herald* limited its Mexican audience to elites who spoke English until Paul Hudson began publishing a Spanish edition in 1910. The editors of the paper had valued the progressivism of liberal elites in government and viewed such individuals as the arbiters of official Mexican culture.¹¹¹ Rather than simply reaffirming Mexican elites' versions of a modern culture, the *Herald's* pages were replete with negotiations between traditional and elite values.

Gender, especially in regard to the role of women, became a major social domain in which the *Herald* defined both the look and the activities of its modern community. The *Herald* ran weekly columns, "In the Interests of Woman," "New York Fashions," and "Feminine Interests," that concerned various facets of women's lives in the city. These columns offered a unique arena of gender negotiation as the editors not only rendered their conception of the progressive woman but also featured regular opinion

¹⁰⁹ Schell, *Integral Outsiders*, 23.

¹¹⁰ Two of the most important Spanish-language opposition newspapers were *Diario del Hogar* and *El Hijo del Ahuizote*.

¹¹¹ "El Heraldo Mexicano," *Mexican Herald*, October 28, 1910, 1.

pieces by some of the American colony's more prominent females. Fashion topics proliferated within these articles. The editors and various contributors to these columns used the rhetoric of modernity to outline the appearance and dress of modern women.¹¹² Detailed descriptions and images left no doubt as to the appearance of the modern woman. When it came to fashion, unlike politics, the *Herald* did not reject European influences. The latest Parisian styles resonated among the American colony's and Mexico's elite women alike. The *Herald* illustrated distinct models for this shared cultural aspect of the community of modern nations: clothing styles for both men and women almost always followed those in New York and Paris.¹¹³ Neither the *Herald* nor its contributors accommodated indigenous or popular class clothing.

A weekly column, "New York Fashions," related even the most nominal changes in women's styles in what the editors considered one of the cultural centers of the United States. These styles illustrated an early incorporation of utilitarianism into the generally ornate designs of elite dress.¹¹⁴

The "comfortable business overcoat" (see figure 5) for women reflected how contributors to the newspaper conceived of the role of women in a progressive society. These trends among both Mexican and American elite women necessitated simple hats with a "speckled hen's feather, a light-colored blouse, ... [a] standing collar and a plain

¹¹² Most contributors and writers of letters to the editor remained nameless in the newspaper. However, contributions from notable British and American women such as Mrs. Cornelia Townsend and Mrs. Alec-Tweedie were attributed to them. Alec-Tweedie was an advocate of the modern active woman. "Social Notes," *Mexican Herald*, April 28, 1901, 13; "Men of America," *Mexican Herald*, September 22, 1901, 15.

¹¹³ "New York Fashions," *Mexican Herald*, October 20, 1896, 5.

¹¹⁴ "New York Fashions," *Mexican Herald*, October 27, 1905, 3.

cloth skirt.”¹¹⁵ In the columns of the *Mexican Herald* these fashions described a model for women in the modern community based on elite taste.



Fig. 5 “New York Fashions”

Source: “New York Fashions,” *Mexican Herald*, October 20, 1896, 5, <http://www.paperofrecord.com>

Modern Mexico’s Standard Guide to the City of Mexico, published by Paul Hudson’s Modern Mexico Publishing Co. in New York and Mexico City, provided stark visual contrasts between traditional Mexican garb and that of progressive women. The author, Robert South Barrett, offered Americans the chance to familiarize themselves with Mexico in the early twentieth century. Much like many of the American observers who wrote travel accounts, Barrett noted the differences between rural and urban Mexicans, as well as working-class and elite styles.¹¹⁶

The *Herald’s* articles blithely discussed the necessity of emulating such fashions without any consideration of individuals’ economic access to the “latest fashions.” Such omissions implied a certain economic level associated with being an individual in a

¹¹⁵ “Women in Atlanta,” *Mexican Herald*, October 6, 1895, 8.

¹¹⁶ Barrett, 17-21.

modern community that excluded much of Mexico's popular urban classes and rural peasantry during the Porfiriato.

Barrett's captions for the numerous photos provided by Hudson's *Modern Mexico Publishing* illustrated the same distinctions that appeared both implicitly and explicitly in the *Herald*. The caption placed under a young man posing for his picture read, "A Dude of the Lower Classes," and a photo of a sitting woman featured a caption that read simply "In the Country."¹¹⁷ In both of these photographs the individuals wore clothing that obviously failed to reflect the appropriate styles of modern men and women. The caption described the man's economic relation to modernity while the woman's caption betrayed her association with rural culture.

The caption for another photograph, "One of Mexico's Types," exemplified a process of creating stereotypes using photographic images reminiscent of Deborah Poole's concept of the "visual regime."¹¹⁸ Poole noted the power of photographers in creating national types by influencing how audiences perceived the rural and indigenous peoples of Latin America. Although Poole warned against scholars' use of evidence from this "visual culture" because of the "baggage" it carried, she described the "sense of the shared meanings and symbolic codes that can create communities of people" that the visual regime represented.¹¹⁹ Poole's visual regime certainly described the intention of the *Herald's* editors. Whether through the numerous images that Hudson's *Modern Mexico* provided to travel guides or the images and descriptions in the *Herald* itself, the

¹¹⁷ Barrett, 49, 53.

¹¹⁸ Barrett, 47; Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 7-8.

¹¹⁹ Poole, 8-10.

newspaper's editors sought to typify both the modern and the "other" in their efforts to provide visual evidence for the otherwise largely abstract notion of a modern culture. The imagery displayed in the *Mexican Herald* allowed the newspaper's editors to provide instruction for those whom the editors hoped would self-identify as modern before anything else.¹²⁰

Overall, the behavior and role of women in society represented one of the least consistent concepts that the *Herald* explored as part of its idealized modern culture. Perhaps surprisingly, editorials on the ideal roles of women provided an ideological space for negotiation that included the ideas of both female and male readers. The topic of gender elicited a strong response from the newspaper's readership in the form of letters to the editor.¹²¹ The editors either summarized these letters or presented them in full. Few clear lines separated the opinions of men and women who presented countless versions of the proper social roles of modern women.

Some women wrote to the editor emphasizing the necessity of the more traditional housewife and wanted recognition for what they considered full time work. The newspaper summarized one such letter revealing that "a busy housewife, tired of hearing her husband declare that women had nothing to do, made up a little statement of the way she had spent her time for one year." The article rendered a list that described the "1,157 meals" arranged, "968 desserts prepared," "788 times" having dressed the children, among many other activities. This woman's insistence that she be credited for the work

¹²⁰ Ann Rubenstein, *Bad Language, Naked Ladies, and Other Threats to the Nation: A Political History of Comic Books in Mexico* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998). Ann Rubenstein examined twentieth-century comic books and found spaces of cultural negotiation in comic depictions of Mexican society. Likewise, the *Herald's* columns and letters to the editor presented a similar space for the negotiation of gender roles.

¹²¹ "Speaking from Experience," *Mexican Herald*, January 2, 1899, 8.

she had accomplished and her insistence on “silencing her husband once and for all,” demonstrated that the *Herald* provided space for the negotiation of gender roles that included even traditional interpretations.¹²² While at no point did the column reveal that the subject challenged her role as a housewife, the fact that this woman sought recognition for her work and could even quantify her annual contributions suggested her awareness of her membership in a modern, capitalist economy.

Some readers avidly addressed the central issues concerning gender and modernity. In such cases men and women alike wrote letters to the editor either expressing approval of “professional women” or rejecting the notion that women should work outside the home.¹²³ While the *Herald’s* readership at times seemed divided over the issue, the newspaper’s writers entered the negotiation with a slightly more unified position. Ultimately, the editors offered a multi-faceted conception of the role of the modern woman that appeared extremely demanding. The newspaper ran daily columns that offered advice on how women could manage their homes and appearance. The editors would also offer advice in the same column to businesswomen on how to manage their professional duties. The editors seemed to have no issue with professional or “self-supporting women,” even if articles explicitly limited the types of professions that women should engage in.¹²⁴ The editors still considered managing one’s home and children a female responsibility, even for the professional woman. Some of the *Herald’s* critiques of the progressive roles of women actually argued that modern women

¹²² “What She Did,” *Mexican Herald*, January 5, 1896, 4.

¹²³ “In the Interest of Woman,” *Mexican Herald*, May 14, 1900.

¹²⁴ “Self-Supporting Women,” *Mexican Herald*, October 27, 1905, 3.

possessed an easier life than did traditional housewives, a position that seemed odd considering that the role the *Herald* assigned to women in a modern culture proved exceptionally arduous.

The *Herald* also offered a space for advocates of moral reform in Mexico City to voice their concerns. Moral reform, largely considered a female activity in the early twentieth century, became an important task for the Woman's Club of Mexico City, established in 1893.¹²⁵ The editors of the newspaper predictably supported moral reform so as to eradicate vices such as gambling, prostitution, and alcohol abuse. Both the newspaper's editors and those who wrote letters to the editor seemed to consider alcoholism the most pernicious vice. Articles on the destructive nature of alcohol abuse employed heavy-handed language that attributed alcohol abuse as the gateway to all other evils. The *Herald* argued that "thrones [had] been lost, kingdoms subdued, republics menaced, revolutions instituted, [and] tyrannies established" due to the "subtle agency of the misuse of alcohol."¹²⁶ This vice threatened the appropriate morality associated with a modern culture. Nevertheless, for the newspaper's editors, alcohol abuse raised another concern outside of moral degeneration. Alcoholism's effect on the efficiency of workers in U.S.-owned companies had long concerned American businessmen in Mexico. The *Herald* supported moral reform as a means to inculcate a capitalist work ethic that would

¹²⁵ "A Woman's Club," *Mexican Herald* August 21, 1898, 4; The role of women in enacting public reform was contested in the Spanish language press. "Contestación Molina Enríquez," *El Tiempo*, March 14, 1908, 1; Ethel Alec-Tweedie, *Maker of Modern Mexico* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1906), 176-177. Mrs. Alec-Tweedie wrote several accounts of her observations while traveling in Mexico during the Porfiriato including, Ethel Alec-Tweedie, *Mexico as I Saw It* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1901).

¹²⁶ "For Temperance," *Mexican Herald*, October 21, 1899, 5; "Cure for Alcoholism," *Mexican Herald*, October 31, 1898, 2; "Anti-Liquor Regulations," *Mexican Herald*, April 2, 1903, 1; For a comparison, see "Pluque el Veneno Nacional," *El Imparcial*, February 21, 1909, 3; For analysis of the role of women in temperance movements and attempts to control vice among the working class, see Christopher Boyer, *Becoming Campesino: Politics, Identity, and Agrarian Struggle in Postrevolutionary Michoacán, 1920-1935* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), 207-208.

in theory increase the level of production among the Mexican working class.¹²⁷

Regardless of its reasons for supporting moral reform, the *Herald* left no room for such vices in a modern culture.

Although it rejected most aspects of contemporary indigenous culture, the *Mexican Herald* did embrace Mexico's ancient history. Attempts among scholars of the United States, especially those of New York's Museum of Natural History, at the turn of the century to understand Mayan and Aztec culture led to increased interest in the indigenous empires of Mexico's past. The *Herald* praised Mayan art as "rare and beautiful" and lauded ancient Mayan culture as the height of civilization in the Americas.¹²⁸ The *Herald* reported on new discoveries of ancient ruins almost obsessively. Hudson regularly provided several pages for articles on ancient ruins and cultures. One such article on Father Hunt Cortes's visit to the newly uncovered "Coateocalli" ruins described the discovery as the most remarkable event since the "destruction of the great Tenochtitlan." The column's description of Tenochtitlán as the "Queen of Waters" and "Mistress of the World" underscored the *Herald's* mythologized portrayal of Mexico's indigenous past.¹²⁹ Regardless, the editors' admiration for ancient Mayan and Aztec cultures certainly did not correspond to an appreciation of contemporary indigenous culture. Ironically, the *Herald* considered Europeans as the inheritors of the legacy of "greatness" left by the ancients.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ For an examination of class formation through the interactions between businesses, the modernizing middle class, and the working class, see William French, *A Peaceful Working People*, 35-41.

¹²⁸ "Mayan Civilization," *Mexican Herald*, December 31, 1902, 3.

¹²⁹ "The Coateocalli," *Mexican Herald*, January 22, 1905, 5.

¹³⁰ "Life in Mexico: Mexico's History," *Mexican Herald*, July 29, 1896, 2.

Extolling the power of the ancient empires served a specific function in the editors' conception of the community of modern nations.¹³¹ The *Herald's* exaggerated and mythologized descriptions of the glorious empires of Mexico's indigenous past especially served as a convenient rationale for Mexico's present role in influencing the development of Latin America. The domination of the Aztecs over their neighbors and the cultural significance of the Maya provided evidence for the *Herald's* rationale that Mexico should have taken a dominant, even imperial, role in Central America and the Caribbean. Noting that "the Mayan Civilization [in Mexico] [was] regarded as more advanced than that of adjacent regions," the *Herald* used history as a legitimizing force for how the editors' conceived of Mexico's political role in the Pan-American community.¹³²

The *Mexican Herald's* interpretation of contemporary Mexican culture proved far less laudatory. The *Herald* nevertheless exhibited a complicated relationship with Mexican popular culture evidenced by its coverage of traditional folk celebrations. For example, seeing similarities between Holy Week disturbances and the Fourth of July Celebrations in the United States, the *Herald* opposed a ban on Holy Week activities because it suppressed Mexico's traditional culture.¹³³ However, when it came to traditions that had not remained as popular as Holy Week, such as the Flower Carnival, the *Herald* envisioned no place for them in its idealized transnational culture. When the

¹³¹ Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 779. Tenorio Trillo illustrated a similar dynamic among Porfirian representatives at the World Fairs. These representatives were charged with presenting an image of Mexico's indigenous past that did not conflict with the demands of progress.

¹³² "Mayan Civilization," *Mexican Herald*, December 31, 1902, 3.

¹³³ "The Traitor Burnt," *Mexican Herald*, April 7, 1901, 1; "New about Town," *Mexican Herald*, April 8, 1901, 3.

1896 Flower Carnival in Mexico City failed to illicit much interest among Mexicans, the editors concluded that “with the spirit of the dead past we must bury the beautiful garments of the dead past.”¹³⁴ The *Herald* did not espouse such a rigidly progressive culture that the community of modern nations could not accommodate certain traditional Mexican customs. Nevertheless, Hudson and his editors conceived of this culture in ways that rejected much of rural and impoverished Mexicans’ lifestyles.

CHAPTER 6

EPILOGUE: REVOLUTION AND THE MODEL OF MODERNITY

The 1910 Mexican Revolution forever excluded Mexico from membership in the *Herald’s* community of modern nations. The revolution not only shattered the economic stability that Porfirio Díaz provided American investors, but it also threatened the social

¹³⁴ “Flower Carnival,” *Mexican Herald*, March 28, 1896, 7.

and cultural order of the modern community. Peasant rebellions challenged the appearance of stability and progress that Hudson and his editors had worked to depict in the pages of the *Herald*. Since economic stability and internal political peace comprised some of the basic characteristics of a modern nation, the idea of a revolutionary Mexico diverged from the nation the *Herald* had described for the previous fifteen years.

During the first five years of the Mexican Revolution, the editors of the *Herald* supported counter-revolutionary forces. The *Herald* often claimed neutrality while simultaneously supporting Victoriano Huerta, the Porfirian general who led a coup against the early revolutionary leader Francisco I. Madero. Hudson and his editors considered Huerta the best hope for stability after it became clear that Porfirio Díaz could not return to Mexico. Hudson sought to depict the situation in Mexico as manageable during this period. The *Herald* also produced numerous articles that preemptively defended against large scale U. S. intervention in Mexico. Hudson regularly released comments in the *New York Times* dismissing the popular notion that Mexico had broken down into a state of anarchy.¹³⁵

Rural peasant goals and anti-foreign, nationalist sentiments among many revolutionaries conflicted with the *Herald's* ideals, which protected the economic interests of foreign investors. Thus, the *Herald* supported figures such as Huerta who seemed to promise stability. Paul Hudson's editorial behavior during the revolution earned the *Herald* its reputation among scholars such as Knudson as nothing more than a mouthpiece for business investment. Knudson considered the newspaper's criticism of Madero and its support for Huerta's oppressive counter-revolutionary regime from 1911

¹³⁵ "Finds Reports Exaggerated," *New York Times*, November 25, 1910, 1.

to 1913 as evidence of Hudson's singular agenda aimed at protecting American businesses, even at the cost of democracy in Mexico.¹³⁶

Above all, the *Herald* possessed no sympathy for peasant leader Emiliano Zapata. On one occasion, the editors of the newspaper explained that comparing Zapata to Attila the Hun disparaged the latter's name because Zapata plied "his trade on murder and rapine south of Mexico City."¹³⁷ The editors especially criticized Zapata's *Plan of Ayala* with its promises to divide up elite estates among peasants. The newspaper vilified the agrarian leader because he did not express "political ideas of any kind" and promoted only "disorder and brigandage."¹³⁸ Such criticisms of Zapata focused on disorder and anarchy. For the *Herald's* editors, Zapata embodied an anarchic challenge to their conception of an ordered and rational community.

The *Herald's* support of Huerta made the newspaper's situation in Mexico City increasingly untenable. In April 1914, the *Herald* moved its operations to U. S. occupied Veracruz. By 1914, the editors had changed their stance on intervention believing that only U. S. intervention could save Mexico from its own revolution. The *Herald* had moved back to Mexico City by August and survived the fall of General Huerta and two

¹³⁶ After the Treaty of Ciudad Juárez granted Madero presidential powers in May 1911, the *Mexican Herald* continued to criticize Madero as a weak and incompetent man as he waited to take power through a democratic election. Even though the *Herald* commended Díaz for his promises of democracy during the famous 1908 Creelman Interview, the newspaper portrayed Madero's hesitancy to take office without having been elected as weakness. Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution: Porfirians, Liberals, and Peasants* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 201-204.

¹³⁷ "El Atillia del Sur," *Mexican Herald*, October 7, 1912, 4.

¹³⁸ "Bring Zapata to Book," *Mexican Herald*, August 18, 1911, 1.

Zapatista occupations.¹³⁹ Because of the newspaper's support of Huerta, General Venustiano Carranza shut the newspaper down on October 30, 1915.

As for the community of modern nations, the *Herald's* ideas maintained significant continuity during the revolution despite the dramatic political and social turmoil. The editors of the newspaper commonly referred to the Mexican Revolution as a "revolutionary chapter" or "era" in the social progression of Mexico.¹⁴⁰ The newspaper at one point considered the violence as an inevitable result of the social and political divisions in Mexico, much like the U.S. Civil War had resulted from political divisions in the United States. Originally, the *Herald* approached the revolution as a temporary setback to Mexico's progress; the basic characteristics of the community remained unchanged even after 1910. The *Herald*, awaiting an end to the violence, hoped the new Mexican government would continue the modernization programs begun during the Porfiriato. Ironically, the revolution's nationalist agenda rejected American investment-led modernization, but many of the basic tenets of the community of modern nations arguably remained influential among elites well into the post-revolutionary era.¹⁴¹

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

¹³⁹ Zapata occupied Mexico City on two separate occasions from November 24th to December 1st 1914 and again from March 11th to July 14th 1915.

¹⁴⁰ "Policy for the Americas," *Mexican Herald*, January 30, 1914, 5.

¹⁴¹ For modernization programs in post-revolutionary Mexico, compare Daniel Newcomer, *Reconciling Modernity: Urban State Formation in 1940's León, Mexico* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); to Adrian Bantjes, *As if Jesus Walked on Earth: Cardenismo, Sonora, and the Mexican Revolution* (Lanham, MD: SR Books, 1998); and Benjamin T. Smith, *Pistoleros and Popular Movements: The Politics of State Formation in Postrevolutionary Oaxaca* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

The editors of the *Mexican Herald* clearly defined the principles of the community of modern nations. A modern government, in the *Herald's* estimation, needed to pursue presumably peaceful and economically sound international policies. Thus, Latin American governments willing to embrace Pan-Americanism to facilitate open trade in the Americas and protect against European imperial aspirations could best meet this basic requirement.¹⁴² The *Herald's* editors also conceived of the modern community in aesthetic terms, believing that rational and orderly urban spaces defined modern life. Their plans for urban development anticipated high-modernist ideals that attempted to regulate and order commercial and class relations. The *Herald's* editors sought to provide a visual representation of modernity with their depictions of the future city. For the newspaper's editors, a progressive citizen had to live in a modern city and the *Herald* consistently provided visual representations of this ideal space. Notably, the *Herald* produced visions of modernity on a transnational level. The newspaper emphasized the necessity of transforming individuals' identities by providing standards for the appropriate behavior of citizens in a cosmopolitan, transnational and to some degree geographically boundless modern community.

Advocating the community of modern nations represented the *Herald's* central function. The editor's imaginings of Mexico's future as a key international actor belonging to a modern community of nations necessitated a transformation of Mexicans' allegedly parochial cultural attitudes. Ultimately the *Herald* failed to fully realize its

¹⁴² Ironically, even though the *Herald* used the United States as a model for progress, the editors often sharply criticized U. S. officials for paying only lip service to Pan-Americanism while not relaxing tariffs on key Latin American staples; "Tariffs," *Mexican Herald*, June 24, 1897, 4.

program of development in Mexico and the nationalist agenda represented in the 1910 revolution rejected many of its core principals, particularly Pan-Americanism.

Reductivist approaches to the role of the foreign print media in Mexico have largely dismissed the cultural programs that individuals such as Paul Hudson employed in their efforts to transform the world in which they lived. Paul Hudson and Frederick Guernsey's *Mexican Herald* played a more complex role than simply acting as a mouthpiece for American imperialist and expansionist ambitions. The *Herald* was a depository for the editors' programs intending to map out Mexico's achievement of modern nationhood and inclusion in the community of modern nations. Nevertheless, the *Herald's* legacy demonstrates that the print media's ability to create and mold national identities was only fragmentary.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Diario del Hogar (1895-1914)

El Imparcial (1895-1914)

El Diario (1906-1914)

El Tiempo (1895-1912)

Modern Mexico (1895-1909)

Mexican Herald (1895-1915)

New York Times (1895-1915)

Two Republics (1895-1900)

Alec-Tweedie, Ethel. *Mexico as I Saw it*. London: Hurst & Blackett, 1901.

———. *The Maker of Modern Mexico, Porfirio Díaz*. New York: J. Lane, 1906.

Barrett, Robert S. *Modern Mexico's Standard-Guide to the City of Mexico and the Vicinity, 1902-1903*. 3rd ed. Mexico City: Modern Mexico, 1903.

Bell, Edward I. *The Political Shame of Mexico*. New York: McBride, Nast & Co., 1914.

Butler, John Wesley. *Mexico Coming into Light*. Cincinnati, OH: Jennings & Graham, 1907.

Lockey, Joseph Byrne. *Pan-Americanism: Its Beginnings*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1920.

Lummis, Charles Fletcher. *The Awakening of a Nation: Mexico of To-day*. New York: Harper, 1898.

Martin, Percy F. *Mexico of the Twentieth Century*, 2 vol. London: E. Arnold, 1907.

Romero, Matías. *Mexico and the United States: A Study of Subjects Affecting their Political, Commercial, and Social Relations, Made with a View to their Promotion*. Vol. 1. New York: G. P. Putnam, 1898.

Thompson, Wallace. *The Mexican Mind: A Study of National Psychology*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown, and Company, 1922.

———. *The People of Mexico: Who They are and How They Live*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922.

———. *Trading With Mexico*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1921.

Secondary Sources

Agostoni, Claudia. *Monuments of Progress: Modernization and Public Health in Mexico City 1876-1910*. Boulder, Co: University Press of Colorado, 2003.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. ed. London: Verso, 1991.

Arrom, Silvia Marina. *Containing the Poor: The Mexico City Poor House, 1774-1871*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000.

Beezley, William H. *Judas at the Jockey Club and Other Episodes of Porfirian Mexico*. 2nd ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.

———. *Mexican National Identity: Memory, Innuendo, and Popular Culture*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2008.

Boyer, Christopher. *Becoming Campesino: Politics, Identity, and Agrarian Struggle in Postrevolutionary Michoacán, 1920-1935*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003.

Buffington, Robert M., and William French. "The Culture of Modernity." In *The Oxford History of Mexico*, edited by Michael C. Meyer and William H. Beezley, 373-407. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Bunker, Steven B., "Creating a Mexican Consumer Culture in the Age of Porfirio Díaz, 1876-1911." PhD diss., Texas Christian University, 2006.

Craib, Raymond B. *Cartographic Mexico: A History of State Fixations and Fugitive Landscapes*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.

Elena Díaz, María. "The Satiric Penny Press for Workers in Mexico, 1900-1910: A Case Study in the Politicisation of Popular Culture." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 22, no. 3 (October 1990): 497-526.

French, William. *A Peaceful Working People: Manners, Morals, and Class Formation in Northern Mexico*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.

———. "Imagining the Cultural History of Nineteenth-Century Mexico," In *Hispanic American Historical Review* 79, no. 2 (May 1999): 249-267.

- Garza, James Alex. *The Imagined Underworld: Sex, Crime, and Vice in Porfirian Mexico City*. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2007.
- Gilbert, Alan. *The Latin American City*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1998.
- Gilderhaus, Mark T. *Pan-American Visions: Woodrow Wilson in the Western Hemisphere, 1913-1921*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1986.
- Haber, Stephen. "Anything Goes: Mexico's 'New' Cultural History." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 79, no. 2 (May 1999): 309-330.
- Hale, Charles A. *The Transformation of Liberalism in Late Nineteenth-Century Mexico*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Hart, John Mason. *Empire and Revolution: The Americans in Mexico Since the Civil War*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002.
- . *Revolutionary Mexico: The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987.
- Johns, Michael. *The City of Mexico in the Age of Díaz*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997.
- Katz, Friedrich. "The Liberal Republic and The Porfiriato, 1867-1910." In *Mexico since Independence*, edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Knight, Alan. *The Mexican Revolution: Porfirians, Liberals, and Peasants*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Knudson, Jerry. "The Mexican Herald: Outpost of Empire, 1895-1915," *International Communication Gazette* 63 (October 2001): 337-398.
- Lear, John. *Workers, Neighbors, and Citizens: The Revolution in Mexico City*. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2001.
- Newcomer, Daniel. *Reconciling Modernity: Urban State Formation in 1940s León, Mexico*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.
- Norton, Kathryn. "The Mexican Herald, 1906 to 1908: Genuine News or Propaganda?" Master's thesis, Tulane University, 1979.
- Overmyer-Velázquez, Mark. *Visions of the Emerald City: Modernity, Tradition, and the Formation of Porfirian Oaxaca, Mexico*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.

- Perkins, Dexter. *A History of the Monroe Doctrine*. Boston, MA: Little and Brown, 1966.
- Poole, Deborah. *Vision, Race and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Schell Jr., William. "American Investment in Tropical Mexico: Rubber Plantations, Fraud, and Dollar Diplomacy, 1897-1913," *Business History Review* 64, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 236-237.
- . *Integral outsiders: the American colony in Mexico City, 1876-1911*. Wilmington: SR Books, 2001.
- Scott, James. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990.
- . *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Smith, Peter H., *Talons of the Eagle: Dynamics of U.S.-Latin American Relations*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Tehrani, Katherine Kia. *Modernity, Space, and Power: The American City in Discourse and Practice*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 1995.
- Tenenbaum, Barbara. "Streetwise History: The Paseo de la Reforma and the Porfirian State, 1876- 1910." In *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico*. Edited by William H. Beezly, Cheryl English Martin, and William E. French, 127-150. Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1994.
- Tenorio-Trillo, Mauricio, *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996.
- Vale, Lawrence. *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Vanderwood, Paul J. *Disorder and Progress: Bandits, Police, and Mexican Development*. Rev. ed. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1981.
- Wakild, Emily. "Naturalizing Modernity: Urban Parks, Public Gardens, and Drainage Projects in Porfirian Mexico City." *Mexican Studies/ Estudios Mexicanos* 23, no. 1 (Winter 2007).
- Zea, Leopoldo. *Mexican Positivism*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1974.

VITA

JOSHUA K. SALYERS

Personal Information:

Date of Birth: April 14, 1986
Place of Birth: Ashland, Kentucky

Education:

Bearden High School, Knoxville, Tennessee 2004
B. A. History East Tennessee State University, Johnson
City, Tennessee 2009
M. A. History, East Tennessee State University, Johnson
City, Tennessee 2011

Experience:

Research Assistant, East Tennessee State University,
History Department, 2009-2010.
Teaching Assistant, East Tennessee State University,
History Department, 2010-2011.

Scholarships and Awards:

Tuition Scholarship, Department of History, East
Tennessee State University, 2009
Graduate Assistantship, Department of History, East
Tennessee State University, 2010
Crawford-Williams Fund Endowment, 2009
International Education Scholarship- 2010
Oaxaca Summer Institute Award- 2010
Barbara Jaffe Silvers Memorial Scholarship- 2010
James H. Quillen Scholarship- 2010
History Department Conference Travel Award- 2011